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THE TIMES

No. 64,691

THURSDAY JULY 8 1993

45p

UK sees jobs dividend on 'great day for trade'

While ecstatic world leaders hailed the deal on tariff reductions, final agreement on issues such as steel and agriculture are far from certain

By PHILIP WEBSTER AND WOLFGANG MÜNCHAU IN TOKYO

WORLD leaders meeting in Tokyo last night hailed a "great day for world trade" after a breakthrough in the long-running negotiations boosted their efforts to promote jobs and growth.

The mood at the economic summit here was transformed after leaders of the world's four main trading groups agreed to the biggest tariff reduction deal in history, cutting or eliminating duties on a wide range of goods.

Although big obstacles lay ahead, the leaders said they hoped that the accord would lead to the successful completion of the stalled world trade talks by the end of the year. John Major said the deal could bring more than 300,000 jobs to Britain over the next decade.

The American government said it could create 1.4 million new jobs there and at least three million across the world. Eager British officials later revised the jobs estimate upwards to 400,000 over 13 years. Other countries got carried away in the excitement to make extravagant claims of their own.

The Group of Seven (G7) leaders, who arrived in Tokyo amid low expectations of their three-day summit, gladly seized on the deal, negotiated after 14 hours of talks through Tuesday night and yesterday as a triumph.

There was a battle to claim the credit. European Community negotiators suggested that the decision to convene the meeting of the "quad" — the trade negotiators from Japan, the United States, Canada and the EC — on the eve of the summit had forced the hand of America and Japan which had given most in the talks.

In the hunt for a deal, the negotiators often interrupted the session to speak to their government leaders. Before he agreed to drop whisky tariffs, Katsun Muto, the Japanese foreign minister, left to get permission from Kiichi Miyazawa, his prime minister. De-

spite the euphoria, the deal has yet to survive scrutiny in the resumed General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) talks in Geneva and it contains a number of aspirations rather than clear commitments. Serious problems remain over American duties on steel imports and there are doubts whether the French will support the accord because of their implacable objections over agriculture.

Even so, the scale of yesterday's agreement exceeded the hopes of most summit participants and officials. President Clinton called it the largest tariff reduction ever. He said: "While there are difficult negotiations ahead, the logjam has been broken."

When we came here we frankly did not know whether we would get an agreement on market access for manufactured goods. It was very, very good news and he was determined to press for a successful completion at Geneva. The deal came as the G7 leaders described their gathering as a "summit for jobs".

The economic declaration to be adopted tomorrow will address what

□ Tariffs to end on chemicals, medical and construction equipment, steel, beer, spirits, furniture and farm equipment

□ Whisky to be £1 a bottle cheaper in Japan

□ 50 per cent cuts on ceramics, glass, textiles and clothing

□ Cuts of 33 per cent on scientific equipment, wood, paper and non-ferrous metals

it calls "insufficient growth and inadequate job creation in our economies". The declaration, a draft of which was leaked yesterday, will call on Japan to boost its domestic demand, the United States to cut its budget deficit, and European countries to lower their interest rates in order to spark growth.

In his speech to the summit, Mr Major underlined the need for tough decisions to bring fiscal deficits back into balance. He said that public spending restraints created jobs by helping to keep interest rates low, a message also delivered here by Kenneth Clarke, the Chancellor.

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Whiff of victory: Iris Bentley and her daughter Maria Dingwall celebrate outside the High Court yesterday

Clarke 'erred on Bentley pardon'

By RICHARD FORD, HOME CORRESPONDENT

THE case of Derek Bentley, hanged 40 years ago for the murder of a policeman, is to be reviewed after three judges ruled yesterday that Kenneth Clarke, the former home secretary, had "erred in law" in refusing a pardon.

Michael Howard is to re-examine the decision of his predecessor, raising hopes that Bentley's sister, Iris, is close to winning her campaign to clear his name.

Mrs Bentley, 61, said after the High Court ruling in London that she was "over the moon". She said: "I have gained a bit of confidence in English justice now."

Within minutes of the judgment, Mr Howard held discussions with his officials at the Home Office. Officials said the judges seemed to be moving towards a new case-



Bentley: victim of "an injustice"

gory of a conditional pardon, involving the sentence and not the conviction.

Lord Justice Watkins, sitting with Lord Justice Neill and Mr Justice Tuckey, said that even by the standards of 1953, there was a compelling argument that the decision not to grant a reprieve was "clearly wrong". They added: "It seems to us possible to devise some formula which would amount to a clear acknowledgment that an injustice was done."

Mr Clarke's decision involved the granting of a free pardon under the Royal Prerogative of Mercy, traditionally given to those found to be innocent or wrongly convicted. The judges ruled that he had failed to consider, when refusing a full pardon, whether another form of order

being carried out. But he added that the then home secretary was "working in a different climate of opinion". A posthumous free pardon could only be granted in a case if a convicted person was found to be innocent.

In a statement in Tokyo yesterday, Mr Clarke said the ruling meant substituting the judgments of 1993 for the judgments and culture of the 1950s. "I also seriously doubt whether we should entertain old and posthumous cases in this way," he said.

Bentley, 19, was hanged in 1953 after he allegedly encouraged Christopher Craig, 16, to shoot constable Sydney Miles with the words "let him have it, Chris". Craig, who fired the shot, was too young to hang but Bentley, with a mental age of 11, was executed.

When he announced his decision last year, Mr Clarke said that had he himself been in office in 1953 he would have stopped the death penalty

40-year campaign, page 3

Mackay to advertise posts on bench

By FRANCES GIBB, LEGAL CORRESPONDENT

JUDGES' jobs are to be openly advertised in an attempt to bring modern selection methods to judicial appointments.

Lord Mackay of Clashfern, the Lord Chancellor, said last night that he was also looking at how "suitable lay people" can be involved in selecting judges. The idea is to open what is perceived as a closed and secretive system of appointments, and to provide a framework for applications for posts on the bench.

Addressing judges at the annual Lord Mayor's dinner at the Guildhall, Lord Mackay said he intended to draw up specific job descriptions for judges, and "of the work of the judicial posts to be filled and of the qualities required" — the first time this has been done.

The advertisements are likely to say that Lord Mackay is seeking applications for a stated number of vacancies as assistant recorders or deputy district judges, or for circuit judges on a specified circuit.

At present, lawyers seeking judicial appointment at the lower levels have to initiate an application. At the senior levels, candidates are approached by the Lord Chancellor's officials.

Lord Mackay signalled the "progressive" introduction of open advertisements for some vacancies and towards the holding of "specific competitions". He said: "Although I do not envisage this at present for the more senior levels of appointment, I do invite senior members of the profession to ensure that their aspirations are known to my advisers who support me in this work."

Lord Mackay added that he would look at what further measures might be needed to boost numbers of women and ethnic minority lawyers on the bench and in the ranks of Queen's Counsel at the Bar.

"False economy", page 2

SATURDAY In The Times

The face of war



Peter Howson, The Times official war artist in Bosnia, returned to Britain sad, sick and deeply shocked at the human carnage he had seen. This Saturday The Times Magazine publishes Howson's first colour sketches of life at the front. His pictures show the many faces of the conflict. Among them: the mean features of a British mercenary; Bosnian children showered with sweets by UN soldiers; a Muslim fighter high on drugs to numb his feelings; a Croat, drunk on brandy for the same reason. They are an extraordinary and powerful record of the terror and misery.

□ Howson retrospective review, page 35

Perlman's CD Direct



Itzhak Perlman, one of the world's most distinguished musical virtuosi, is the subject of this month's CD Direct offer in The Times this Saturday. Richard Morrison profiles the great violinist, and four of Perlman's finest recordings are offered to readers at a specially reduced price.

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Rolls-Royce taps new rich of Moscow and Budapest

By KEVIN EASON, MOTORING CORRESPONDENT

ROLLS-ROYCE will today announce a 25 per cent increase in production of the world's most famous car due to strong overseas sales which have ended doubts that the business could survive as an independent British enterprise.

The company, a target for takeover after losing more than £100 million over two years, is expected to bounce back into the black this year as it opens showrooms in Russia, Hungary and China.

Although the British market shows no signs of revival, with sales down from 222 to 161 in the first half of the year, markets are rapidly expand-

ing abroad. Worldwide sales, however, are expected to be close to 700 in the first six months with the biggest demand from the emerging economies of Eastern Europe.

A new Rolls-Royce showroom opens in Moscow next week, heralding what could be the start of a boom in the former Communist bloc.

About 60 Rolls-Royces and Bentleys have already gone to Russia this year, mainly via Germany, in spite of a price tag of between £90,000 and £170,000.

By opening the first official showroom in Moscow, the company hopes to attract new entrepreneurs seeking symbolic rewards of their newfound wealth. Sales are gaining ground quickly in

Hungary after the opening of a showroom in Budapest while sales in Hong Kong are up by 60 per cent. China, still hovering between a tough command economy and tentative capitalism, has already taken 26 cars and sales could top 100 by the end of the year.

The fresh demand for cars that first took to the road in 1904 means increasing output to 32 cars a week, the fastest production rate since the 1990 boom when Rolls-Royce sold more than 3,500 cars. Mike Donovan, commercial managing director, said that while the economies of Western Europe were depressed, the company was tapping new markets where buyers had not had the chance to buy Rolls-Royces and Bentleys.

Magazine vows to contest Major case

By SHEILA GUNN, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

JOHN MAJOR could still face questioning in court about his private life as the satirical magazine *Scalegog* yesterday refused to reach an out-of-court settlement for libel damages.

Despite the agreement by the prime minister and the businessman Clare Lattimer, journalists on *Scalegog* vowed to continue to fight their case.

Although irritated that news of the settlement overshadowed the prime minister's visit to the G7 summit in Tokyo, the officials clearly hoped yesterday that the *New Statesman*'s settlement of a token £1,001 damages each would effectively end the libel actions.

However, a Downing Street

official confirmed that Mr Major was still prepared to go to court if *Scalegog*'s journalists refused to settle.

Simon Regan, the magazine's editor, said that the *New Statesman* settlement did not affect his determination to continue the case following an article last January about rumours in Westminster of an alleged affair between Mr Major and Ms Lattimer.

"As far as I am concerned, we haven't capitulated. We are going to court," he said. "Our solicitor is on holiday at the moment, but the last thing we did before they went was to

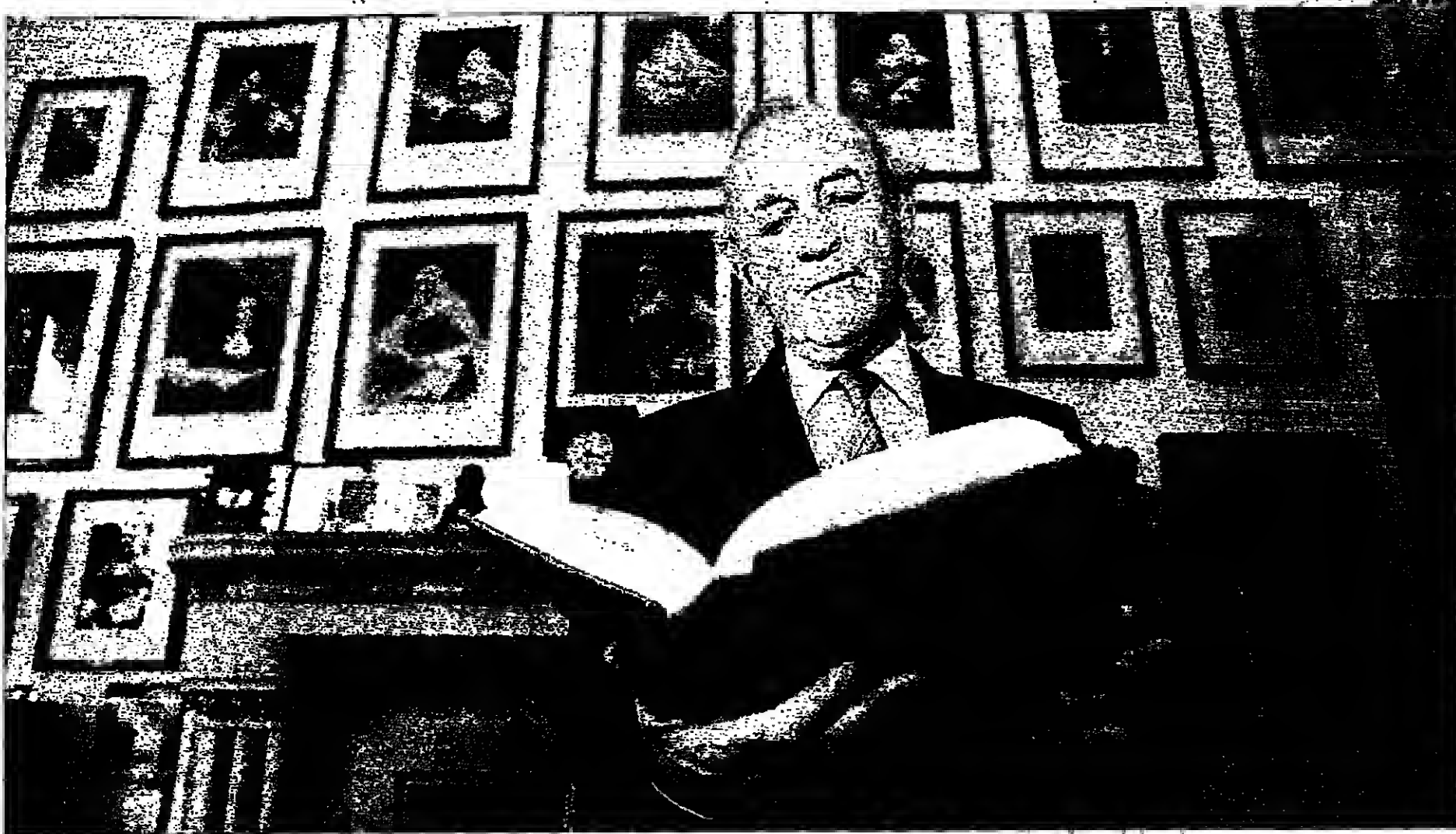
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By the book: the Lord Chief Justice preparing in his chambers for the speech at Guildhall, in which he said that underfunding the justice system was a dangerous economy

MPs unite in protest over exclusion order on freed man

By EDWARD GORMAN, IRELAND CORRESPONDENT

JOHN Matthews, 22, who was expelled from Britain on Tuesday night after being cleared of terrorist offences by Thames magistrates, was at the centre of a growing political row last night.

Michael Howard, the home secretary, was facing cross-party criticism over his decision to issue an exclusion order on Mr Matthews under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

When Mr Matthews appeared at Thames Magistrates' Court, east London, on Tuesday after being held in custody for ten weeks on charges in connection with an explosion in north London in April, the Crown admitted the evidence did not offer a realistic prospect of conviction and the charges were withdrawn.

Mr Matthews, born in Liverpool, was told by the magistrate that he could leave the court without a blemish on his character. He was then arrested pending the signing of the order by Mr Howard.

The Labour party said the order was "nothing less than an abuse of the legal system" and in Northern Ireland the Social Democratic and Lab-

our Party called the expulsion an "absolute outrage".

Last night Mr Matthews declared: "If they had their way, they would have kept me in for decades." He returned to his home and family in Londonderry yesterday after walking off a London flight.

Mr Matthews is to appeal against the exclusion order, but was relieved to be back home. He said: "I was innocent when I was charged. I was innocent when I was questioned and I was innocent when I was a Category A high-risk prisoner."

"I was confident I would get the charges dropped because they had no evidence. That didn't worry them in the slightest because they were quite happy to keep me in there for months and months. All they wanted was an Irishman in jail so they could write off another crime. They were not interested in justice."

Mr Matthews said that had it not been for support from MPs, particularly Peter Bottomley, the Conservative member for Epsom, and pressure groups in Belfast and Londonderry, he might never have been released. "The only

reason they dropped the charges as early as they did was because the public uproar was so strong."

The issue is expected to be raised by Irish ministers at a meeting of the Anglo-Irish Conference in London today.

The Home Office would not comment on detail on the case, or the reasons for the order. A spokeswoman accepted, however, that the order could be interpreted by some in Northern Ireland as placing Mr Matthews in some danger, adding "I assure you that these matters are not taken in any way lightly."

Mr Matthews' father Joseph said he was not particularly concerned about the order, and more interested in getting his son back safely. "The court found him innocent — that's good enough for me."

Two prison officers at The Maze top security jail outside Belfast were seized by Loyalist inmates on Tuesday, stripped, and had their heads shaved, the government disclosed yesterday. The attack was part of a protest over delays in moving sentenced inmates from Crumlin Road jail in Belfast to a new wing at The Maze.

New navy ships are unarmed

By MICHAEL EVANS, DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

TWO £200 million ships, vital for supplying naval warships, are going to sea without weapons to defend themselves, a Commons public accounts committee report said yesterday.

The MPs on the all-party committee criticised the defence ministry for the way it handled the programme for the Royal Fleet Auxiliary oiler replenishment (AOR) vessels, *Fort George* and *Fort Victoria*. The ships are due to enter service later this year.

Both ships had cost "substantially" more than was originally planned and both lacked a self-defence capability which had been included in the initial proposals.

The original plan "had been to fit the vessels with the vertical-launch Sea Wolf missile system, a close-range missile. The MPs asked the ministry whether the ships had any utility at all without Sea Wolf."

They told us that the judgement of those who would sell them was that the vessels would have to be used more cautiously," the report says.

Statement on Major Defence Projects, Committee of Public Accounts 45th Report (HMSO: £12.15)

Even the British Road Fed-

Lord Taylor warns of cut-price justice

By FRANCES GIBB AND STEWART TENDLER

THE government must provide adequate funds to implement reforms needed for a "fair and efficient justice" system, the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Taylor of Gosforth, said last night.

The day after the Royal Commission on Criminal Justice issued its report, the most senior judge warned the government "to underfund the justice system would be a dangerous economy."

In an address at the Lord Mayor's dinner for judges at the Guildhall in the City of London, attended by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Mackay of Clashfern, Lord Taylor avoided stating a view on the most contentious of the commission's recommendations, the removal of the right of defendants to elect jury trial.

"I prefer to read it thoroughly before commenting on some of its more controversial recommendations," he said. But he said the commission's report "clearly has resource implications" and he wished to endorse "its concern about access to justice and representation."

The Lord Chancellor's purse is enormous so big, that he requires a bearer to carry it before him. But that ploy will be hollow if the government does not fill the purse sufficiently to provide for a fair and efficient justice system for sufficient police, for sufficient courtrooms, for

enough judges of high calibre and training, for court administration and its ancillary services and for access to justice."

He said he believed the government was conscious of the need to accord a high priority to law and order. "Given the impetus for change and the necessary resources, I believe we can achieve an improved justice system of which we can be proud."

Lord Taylor gave general support to proposals to cut delays and costs, and specifically welcomed the proposal that the defence be required to disclose its case before trial, when the prosecution case was known, and for defining the issues in a case before trial.

Yesterday the commission's report came under fire from Paul Condon, the Metropolitan police commissioner, for being merely an "audit" of the criminal justice system from the perspective of miscarriages of justice.

The commission had produced a good report, he said, but the debate needed to be more comprehensive. "My argument is don't over-focus on miscarriages of justice. 'Like into account the five million victims of crime each year and what the criminal justice system should be doing for them. We only have a chance once every 20 years to look at the system.'"

Job ads for judges, page 1

MacGregor scraps plan for road through Oxleas wood

By NICK NUTTALL AND TIM JONES

THE GOVERNMENT'S controversial plan to drive a road through the 8,000-year-old Oxleas wood in southeast London has been scrapped after eight years of campaigning by local and national protest groups. John Gummer, the environment secretary, said the damage to the wood would have been "an unacceptable price to pay."

Making the announcement in the Commons, John MacGregor, the transport secretary, said other plans would be considered for a new road link across the Thames, which he said was a key element in proposals to regenerate the east Thames corridor.

With a huge row expected over proposals to widen parts of the M25 to 14 lanes — making it the widest motorway outside the United States — the transport department's decision, described by Labour as a climbdown, was widely welcomed.

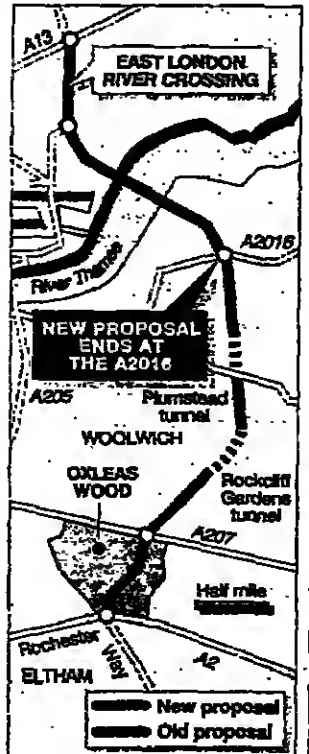
Even the British Road Fed-

eration, the main road building lobby, called the decision a "victory for common sense". The federation has proposed another scheme which would not affect the wood. The decision came five months before a High Court appeal hearing.

Making the announcement, Mr MacGregor said the government would continue to defy proposed action by the European Commission as the Oxleas project had been in the pipeline before the proceedings had been instigated.

The news, seen as a significant policy shift in favour of the environment as the government embarks on a £20 billion road building programme, delighted and surprised critics.

Charles Secret, executive director of Friends of the Earth, hailed a "victory for wildlife over concrete". David Black of People Against the River Crossing said it was a victory for local people.



Magazine to contest Major case

Continued from page 1

instruct him that the conditions that Mr Major has put to us are not acceptable."

His deputy, Angus James, said that Mr Major, who was the first prime minister for 25 years to take libel action, had "declared war" on the maga-

zine. "We will fight to continue, not because we want a battle with John Major, but because we have mounted a relentless and insidious campaign against us," he said.

After the *New Statesman* agreed to pay damages and costs amounting to £250,000, Mr Major commented from Tokyo: "Everyone in the case, those who spread the libel and those who printed it and published it have now indicated it is untrue and unfounded. I am satisfied with that."

Outside her home in Primrose Hill, Ms Latimer, who

runs her own catering business, talked of her relief that the case was over.

"It's been a horrible time. It's been hanging over me for six months. Once they made payment into court they owned up to the fact that it was a wrong article."

She added: "It's better out of the way. It was a ridiculous story and a waste of time. It has been a great strain on my cox and on my family and, I bet, on Mr Major's family."

Anthony Howard and Diary, page 16

Locusts, lords and straws in the wind

Like a busload of delinquent pensioners on a mystery tour, peers and peeresses, who have just wrecked the railways bill, howled into the Chamber of the Lords after lunch yesterday to see where else they might lift the lid or put a spanner in the works. Before proceeding to railways, peers took it into their heads to enquire into world population growth, the threat of locusts and alternative uses for straw.

It was Lord Dormand who raised the subject of population growth. The Chamber was crowded. It is fair to say that most of their Lordships have passed the active breeding stage, but they retain an intense interest in anything to do with sex, from a theoretical point of view. Each had an opinion. Lord Dormand told us that 254,000 new babies are being born every day. What was Lady Chalker going to do about it?

The Baroness Chalker has become one of the most effective ministers in the Lords. With her Commons experience (as Lynda Chalker) and her reputation for hard work, Lady Chalker has been hindered only by a slightly bossy way of talking, a little like the Queen. Yesterday, this vanished.

The baroness had a new, sultry voice: softer, far more obliging. Almost coquettishly, she told Dormand how right he was to be bothered. She outlined some ways Britain assists Third World birth-control programmes.

But he persisted: "My Lords, the main causes of population growth are well known." At this, a gentle, pleasing noise arose. It was the noble equivalent of laughter. It grew, as more and more lords and ladies, antique sound-amplifiers pressed to their ears like gothic telephones, got the joke. In the most risqué quip

your sketchwriter has heard in this tasteful place, someone called "withdraw!" — so bashfully that the interrupter collapsed in an embarrassed giggle, a cheeky schoolboy aware that he had overstepped the mark.

"Children by choice," cooed Lady Chalker, "not by chance." Asked whether world religions could help, the baroness noted that Islam was making progress. As for the Roman Catholics "I've had talks with the Vatican." At this, a bishop (Norwich), saddened by the thought of Christians at odds, told us that differences over birth control were "not as wide as some assumed". Christians shared "a deeply held common belief in the sanctity and fidelity of marriage"; it was just that there were "slightly divergent practical policies". It would be amusing to hear the right reverend prelate — on the burning of heretics.

Sandwiched between birth control and the need to find alternative uses for straw came Lord Ennals and his anxieties about locusts in Africa. They were all over the place, he said. The baroness, who knew all about locusts, murmured her concern.

Then came straw. Lord Strathmore and Kinghorne knew of projects for the manufacture of synthetic fibres and thermoplastics from straw. Lord Mason has heard that straw tossed into lakes can help control algae. Lady Robson believes you can make chipboard from straw. Other peers know of plywood factories. Lord Mackie believes we should go back to old-fashioned mixed farming, where the straw is eaten by animals.

Before anyone suggested corn-dollies, mattresses, hats, baskets, straw condoms or locust traps, their Lordships' bus moved on. Next stop: the railways bill.

Major hints at cuts in pension provision

John Major signalled yesterday that pensions could be an area for saving in the government's long-term review of public spending. In a speech to the world economic summit in Tokyo, Mr Major emphasised the need for Britain and other countries to take unpopular steps to keep their social security budgets in check.

He spoke of the "startling figures showing that Britain's social security spending increased sevenfold in real terms since the war".

He told fellow leaders that Britain expected the number of pensioners to increase from 10 million today to 14 million in 40 years' time. Over the same period, the working population would not increase at all. By 2030, for every 10 pensioners there would only be 24 people of working age compared with 34 today.

Palace protesters bailed

Fourteen women were bailed yesterday on charges relating to an intrusion at Buckingham Palace on Tuesday after a magistrate criticised police for trying to keep them in custody. Laughter erupted in Bow Street Magistrates' Court when Det Chief Insp Robin Jackson described the protest as a committed campaign of an aggressive nature. The women were charged with conspiracy to cause criminal damage and using threatening words or behaviour and were remanded on bail until July 21.

Nuclear plant refused

British Nuclear Fuels has been refused planning permission to build a fuel-making factory at Sellafield, Cumbria. The refusal, on the direction of the environment department, yesterday cast further doubt on BNFL's thermal oxide reprocessing plant, government approval for which has been delayed for more consultations.

Supergrass cleared

A self-confessed supergrass, Maurice O'Mahoney, 44, was cleared of robbery at the Old Bailey yesterday after he claimed that detectives tried to murder him to stop him exposing police corruption. O'Mahoney, from east London, said worried police officers who tricked him into setting up a post office robbery last June at Shepherd's Bush, west London, were lying in wait and opened fire on him and his accomplice Alan Stevens, 44, from Bristol, as they made their escape with a bag of cash.

Sams jury to retire

The jury in the trial of Michael Sams at Nottingham Crown Court is expected to retire today to consider its verdict. Sams, 51, from Sutton on Trent, denies kidnapping and murdering Julie Dart, a Leeds prostitute. He has admitted kidnapping Stephanie Slater, a Birmingham estate agent, and demanding a ransom of £175,000. Mr Justice Judge warned the jury not to be swayed into thinking that because Sams had admitted the kidnapping that he must have committed the other offences.

Rothenstein dies at 85

Michael Rothenstein, the painter and print maker, has died at the age of 85, the Royal Academy said yesterday. An academy spokeswoman said he suffered a stroke at his home at Braintree, Essex, on Tuesday and died on the way to hospital. His works have been acquired by the Tate Gallery, the Museum of Modern Art in New York and the British Museum. He leaves a widow and two children.

Obituary, page 19

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Revenge gang was armed with daggers, pickaxe handle, wooden batten and crowbar

Girls get life for killing a teenager who jeered at them

BY A STAFF REPORTER

TWO teenage girls collapsed in tears last night as a judge ordered them to begin a life behind bars for murdering a boy who had taunted them during a seaside holiday.

Nicola Mott, 16, and Avril Gregory, 18, clutched hands in the dock of Sheffield Crown Court and then wept in each other's arms as Mr Justice Swinton Thomas ordered them to be detained during Her Majesty's pleasure.

They and two other girls had claimed that Scott Beaumont, 16, spoiled their holiday in Cleethorpes, Humberside, by calling them names and taunting them.

Roger Keen QC, for the prosecution, said the four armed themselves with a pickaxe handle, a wooden batten, a crowbar and two daggers when they went hunting for Scott in a car driven by Kieron Wallbridge, 19.

When they found him in a street in his home town of Wombwell, South Yorkshire, Mott plunged a knife into his heart.

Mott and Gregory, of Hoyland, South Yorkshire, Beverley Snowden, 15, also of Hoyland, and Wallbridge, of Wombwell, all denied murder in May 1992. Mott's sister Julie was also charged with

murder but died in a road accident before the case came to court.

Mr Keen said that although Mott had struck the deadly blow, the other girls and Wallbridge had encouraged her and were jointly responsible for Scott's death.

But the jury acquitted Miss Snowden and Mr Wallbridge after nearly 12 hours of deliberations. Mott and Gregory were convicted on majority verdicts.

The judge told the two girls: "You are responsible for the death of a young man. There is

only one order I can make in this case."

Mary Beaumont, mother of the victim, was in tears afterwards when she said: "Scott is now at peace, but those two will never rest. It has been a terrible traumatic time for the whole family, but in the case of those two, justice has been done."

Mr Keen had told the court that the dispute arose on a caravan site at Cleethorpes. During taped interviews with police, Mott said she and her friends had been taunted by Scott Beaumont, who had called them "slags". She claimed he repeated the insults when she met him by chance at Wombwell, near Barnsley, after they had returned home.

On the tape, Mott admitted stabbing Scott through the heart, but said: "I didn't mean to do it. I am just sorry about it."

Mr Keen told the court that Gregory had urged Mott to stab the boy after the gang had gone looking for him.

Snowden was said to have been standing some distance from the stabbing when it happened, and Wallbridge had merely driven the girls in his car to find the boy, he told the court.



Victim: Scott Beaumont was stabbed in the heart



Attackers: Avril Gregory, left, and Nicola Mott outside Sheffield Crown Court. Two friends were acquitted

Musician killed 'after tracking tyre-slasher'

BY A STAFF REPORTER

A MUSICIAN'S attempt to turn detective went disastrously wrong when he was stabbed to death in front of his wife, an Old Bailey jury was told yesterday.

Robert Osbourne, 41, was allegedly murdered on December 10 last year, when he tracked down a drink and drug-crazed teenager who had been slashing car tyres outside his house, the court was told.

Mr Osbourne, a private music tutor, and his wife, Diane, 38, had been in their back garden in Streatham, south London, when they were disturbed by the sound of Joseph Elliott, 19, also from Streatham, who was "amusing himself" slashing car tyres. Anne Rafferty QC, for the prosecution, said.

Mr Osbourne armed himself with a hammer and went to where his wife, who had followed the youth, had last seen him, the court heard. He climbed some stairs to a balcony. Mrs Osbourne saw her husband return holding his arms up in a gesture of surrender, the court was told. Diane She had no idea he had just suffered a fatal knife wound to the heart.

Elliott, who denies murder, allegedly told police after his arrest that he had taken a cocktail of drink, cannabis and LSD that day. He claimed he panicked when Mr Osbourne came at him with the hammer and lashed out with the knife in self-defence. The trial continues.

Sister spent lifetime to clear Bentley's name

BY RICHARD FORD, HOME CORRESPONDENT

IRIS Bentley walked from the High Court yesterday one step closer to achieving victory in her crusade to win a posthumous free pardon for her brother Derek.

It is a campaign that she began on the last day she saw her brother at Wandsworth prison, southwest London. On the eve of his execution, she promised to clear his name. For the past 40 years she has been true to her word. A broken marriage and a 20-year battle against cancer have not weakened her determination.

Her brother's execution on January 28, 1953, turned Iris Bentley, then 21, into a crusader. Five hundred people demonstrated outside Wandsworth prison and 200

MPs demanded a reprieve. She broke off her engagement to support her parents' efforts to get Bentley a pardon. His hanging ignited a national controversy.

The words "Let him have it, Chris" sent Derek Bentley to his execution months after he had been cornered by police during an attempted break-in at a warehouse. He had been persuaded by Christopher Craig, 16, to take part in the burglary.

Bentley, an illiterate 19-year-old with a mental age of 11 and 10' 10" of 66, took with him a knife and a knuckle duster. Craig was armed with a Colt pistol.

They were confronted on the roof of the building by police officers. Bentley was held by police but Craig

ignored demands to give himself up and fired, wounding one officer and killing Constable Sidney Miles. The injured officer swore that Bentley, whom he was holding, shouted the words: "Let him have it, Chris".

At the trial the prosecution alleged that Bentley had encouraged his partner to shoot and was thus equally guilty. Craig was too young to be hanged, but was detained at Her Majesty's pleasure before being released in 1963. He says Bentley never uttered the words.

Lord Justice Goffard had no alternative but to sentence him to death. Papers released last year showed that Sir David Maxwell Fyfe, who as home secretary refused a reprieve, overruled his advisers when he decided the execution should go ahead.

Miss Bentley said: "Derek wasn't the only person who died that day. We all did. On that day, I made a vow with Mum and Dad to fight for Derek."

Even on her wedding day in 1961 she did not forget her promise, going to Wandsworth jail in her wedding dress to place her bouquet of red carnations on his grave. The prison officers said they could not accept the flowers without Home Office permission.

Each year on the anniversary of his death, she lays a wreath at Wandsworth prison. In 1968, Bentley's body was moved from the prison to Croydon cemetery.

After her parents' death in the 1970s, she continued the fight, writing more than 150,000 letters in the attempt to clear her brother's name. When that day comes, a bottle of champagne unopened for 20 years, will be taken from her fridge and uncorked.

Bentley ruling, page 1
Law report, page 31

BENTLEY
From the News of the World, January 29, 1953



Campaigner: Iris Bentley at Wandsworth prison

Ruling affects mercy power

BY FRANCIS GIBB, LEGAL CORRESPONDENT

THE High Court ruling in the case of Derek Bentley, that the royal prerogative of mercy is reviewable by the courts, was hailed by lawyers as a landmark judgment for constitutional law.

Benedict Birnberg, the lawyer who acted for Derek Bentley's mother Iris, said that Lord Justice Watkins had made clear for the first time that courts could look at how ministers were applying the royal prerogative of mercy and in this case had decided they were doing so inflexibly.

Mr Birnberg said: "The court has made clear that the prerogative of mercy is a flexible and broad power

which could be adapted to many different circumstances and across a wide range."

In constitutional law terms, this was significant. "The home secretary is bound to reconsider the guidelines he has been following in exercising the prerogative, quite apart from the question of any pardon for Derek Bentley."

The royal prerogative is the name given to the exclusive rights, powers and immunities which belong to the Crown under common law.

Apart from the prerogative of mercy, there are powers covering appoint-

ments (such as those of senior judges or archbishops) and the awarding of honours (such as new hereditary peerages); the power to stop prosecutions, exercised through the attorney-general; and powers to declare war, make peace and international treaties or to issue passports.

The prerogative stems from the days when all power was vested in the monarch. Now most prerogative acts are performed by the government on behalf of the Crown, although some are performed by the sovereign on the advice of Parliament, such as the appointment of a prime minister.

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You can't beat the Tube.

Pornographic satellite TV channel taken off the air

By ALEXANDRA FREAN, MEDIA CORRESPONDENT

THE authorities in Denmark have pulled the plug on Red Hot Television, the pornographic satellite channel which has been beaming hard core material into British homes, because the company has not paid its bills.

Telecom Denmark, which provided Red Hot with a satellite transmission service from Denmark, where the company is licensed, said yesterday that as the station had failed to honour its contractual payments it had been taken off air at the weekend.

The Broadcasting Standards Council (BSC) and the Independent Television Commission, which have complained about the explicit pornographic film station, welcomed the development as a victory for decency.

Lady Howe, chairman of the BSC, said: "A station like this is absolutely without any worth. It is against almost every law in this country, including the Obscene Publications Act."

The BSC, which has been monitoring Red Hot Television since it went on air last July, said that it was now planning in August to analyse the content of all the satellite channels which broadcast adult material into the UK.

Only one of these, the Adult Channel, is licensed in Britain. The others, which include France's Canal Plus and the German stations RTL2 and RTL3, are licensed in their country of origin, but are permitted under European law to broadcast in Britain.

Colin Shaw, director of the BSC, said: "We carried out a similar monitoring exercise last year and are keen to discover whether their material has become more explicit." He said the results of the exercise would be published. Although the government

made it a criminal offence to sell the decoders needed to receive Red Hot in May, it was unable to prevent people who already had decoders from receiving it. Red Hot claimed that its service, broadcast three nights a week, was reaching 25,000 British homes.

Last week Mark Garner, Red Hot's spokesman in Britain, said he had received applications from more than 30,000 people in Britain for Red Hot's decoding "smart cards", in spite of the government's banning order. According to the BSC, many subscribers, who paid up to £150 each for a card, received nothing.

It now appears that the company has gone out of business; there was no reply to any of its offices in Denmark and Holland yesterday. And the station's licence to broadcast now appears to be worthless. It was issued in the name of Gorm Oldorf, managing director of Continental Television A/S, the porn channel's Danish parent company, who left the organisation in June. Mr Gorm has publicly dissociated himself from the company.

News of Red Hot's demise emerged as the BSC published its annual report. In the year to March 31, the council received 1,355 complaints within its remit, a 20 per cent increase on the previous year. The number of complaints relating to violence on television more than doubled to 252.

Mr Shaw said he supported the idea of merging the council, which deals with taste and decency on television, with the Broadcasting Complaints Commission, which handles complaints about unfair treatment of individuals or organisations in programmes.



Rare hope: Hal Brodhurst, above, the six-month old boy who underwent a heart transplant ten days ago, was yesterday given an infusion of bone marrow at Harefield Hospital, west London, in a pioneering effort to save his life (Nigel Hawkes writes).

Hal suffers from Pompe's disease, a rare inherited condition which means he cannot produce an enzyme necessary to break down glycogen in the body. The result is damage and enlargement of the heart which in the past has been fatal. The new heart is able to produce the enzyme, so should suffer no further damage, but other organs in Hal's body remain at risk.

The infused cells contain the enzyme Hal is missing and doctors hope they will "kill" the disease by becoming established in his own bone marrow to create cells able to produce

the right enzyme. Sir Magdi Yacoub, who performed the transplant, said: "The heart transplant on Hal was to save his life, but the bone marrow transplant is to kill the disease."

Hal's parents, Robin, right, and Desirée Brodhurst, left, of Putney, southwest London, were both unsuspecting carriers of the genetic defect responsible for the condition.

Surgeons at Birmingham's Queen Elizabeth Hospital yesterday carried out a liver transplant on a 15-day-old girl, the world's youngest liver recipient, after reducing in size an organ from an older child.

Consultant surgeon David Mayer, who led a team of 13, said: "Until the success of this operation, a lot of children have been too young or too tiny for the procedure to be considered worth attempting. Now, anything is possible."

Schools to get wider powers on selection

By BEN PRESTON, EDUCATION REPORTER

STATE comprehensive schools are to be given greater flexibility to select pupils by ability, ministers announced yesterday.

Guidelines on admissions will allow schools to choose about 10 per cent of pupils according to their talent in subjects such as art, music, technology and sport.

The move is part of the government's drive to encourage more schools to specialise. But its refusal to allow schools to select small numbers of pupils in academic subjects such as mathematics or science reflects ministers' sensitivity to the charge of "restoring selection and the 11-plus by the back door".

The guidance, which will form the basis of admissions policies from next year, also aims to reduce discontent among parents over growing competition for places at popular schools by making entry procedures clearer.

Robin Squire, the junior education minister, said schools could specialise without returning to wholesale selection by ability. "We want schools to build on their strengths and so to extend parental choice," he said.

The guidelines rule out significant changes in a school's character — such as alterations in the age range, mix of sexes or selecting all or most pupils by ability — without the specific approval of the education secretary.

Mr Squire said the new guidelines aimed to make procedures clear, reasonable and objective as people's growing awareness of their rights had prompted an increasing number of complaints about school admissions in the past two years.

He said popular schools should warn parents when their chances of getting in were small. "Clearly schools do not have elastic sides and there is a finite number of pupils they can admit."

The government did not want to extend the right of schools to select 10 per cent of pupils to academic subjects because this would be too close to testing pupils' general ability, he said. The introduction of general selection was a decision for the school or local authority in the light of the wishes of parents or of the local community.

John Patten, the education secretary, was criticised by a High Court judge last week for claiming a decision to allow the first grant-maintained comprehensive to become a grammar enjoyed local support when, in fact, it was fiercely opposed.

Mr Patten's decision to approve in March the application by Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, in Penrith, Cumbria, an opted-out school, to select its pupils by ability, was seen as signalling the revival of selective education.

Sissons wins battle of the BBC newscasters

By OUR MEDIA CORRESPONDENT

MARTYN Lewis, the newscaster, has lost his battle to remain on the flagship *Nine O'Clock News*. The BBC announced yesterday that he is to change places in January with Peter Sissons, who presents the *Six O'Clock News*, ending weeks of speculation about the news line-up.

The decision represents a compromise for the BBC, which wanted to move Lewis to breakfast television because it was believed that his "warm and friendly" approach would be better appreciated. Lewis, who threatened to resign if he

■ Martyn Lewis has lost his coveted post at the helm of the *Nine O'Clock News* but the BBC has more personnel changes to make

were removed from peak-time television, yesterday described the change as a welcome challenge.

He said: "The *Six O'Clock News* is the only mainstream national news programme I have not worked on at the BBC and ITV."

"I know the *Six* is to place greater emphasis on the domestic agenda and I find the idea of reporting Britain better — increasing the range of our

coverage — a very attractive proposition."

The changes represent a promotion for Sissons, who was poached from ITN in 1989 with a £500,000 contract. He said: "Like Martyn, I relish the idea of a switch and the challenge of presenting the *Nine* is irresistible."

Although the *Nine O'Clock News* is considered the BBC's most important news programme, Lewis, whose recent

campaign for more good news on television caused controversy, will get comfort from the fact that the 6pm programme regularly attracts more viewers. An average of 6.3 million people watched the early evening news each night in the week ending June 18, compared with 5.4 million people at 5pm.

Anna Ford and Michael Buck will continue as deputy presenters of the *Six* and *Nine O'Clock News* respectively.

Peter Bell, editor of BBC television news, said the changes would reinvigorate the news output. "All our senior presenters are capable of fronting any of our pro-

grammes. We are fortunate we can be so flexible," he said.

The changes offer only a partial solution to two of the problems that caused them, and a further round of moves is expected early next year.

The BBC has still to decide on a replacement for Sissons on BBC1's *Question Time*, where he has not been a critical success. He is now likely to stay there until the end of the year.

The corporation has also yet to find a convenient new slot for Nicholas Witchell, who is keen to step up from *Breakfast News*. He may go back on the road as a correspondent.

PC's wife claims he tried to strangle her after wife-swap

By A STAFF REPORTER

A POLICEMAN'S wife yesterday told the Old Bailey that he had tried to kill her after they swapped partners with another couple.

Peggy Hutchins alleged that her husband, a police constable, tried to strangle her with the cord of her dressing gown, the wire of their television set and his thumbs on her windpipe, and had put a pillow over her face. Paul Hutchins, 42, pleads not guilty to attempting to murder her and causing grievous bodily harm.

Yesterday she told the court that she had stayed in bed while her husband took the children to school and was getting up as he returned. "He came into the bedroom and wanted me to get back into bed and lie down with him. He pushed me down on the bed." She said she had told him: "This is not what I want. It has

nothing to do with anyone else. It is to do with you." Mrs Hutchins said he had physically hurt her too many times and she did not feel she could sleep with him again. She told him she would be seeing a solicitor.

Mrs Hutchins told the court: "He pulled the cord from my dressing gown, wrapped it around my neck, and started strangling me. He was kneeling over me. I put my fingers under the cord to stop him strangling me but he was trying to pull it tighter. He seemed very frustrated with me because I wouldn't let him do it. I felt I couldn't breathe." She said that he then stopped and struck her in the face. "He put his two thumbs into my windpipe and tried to kill me that way." Mrs Hutchins, 40, said she had been screaming and banging on the head-

board to alert neighbours. "He pulled my head back and tried to twist it with his hands to break my neck."

Mrs Hutchins said that he tried to put a pillow over her face and kicked her and tried to strangle her with the TV wire. The bed moved in the struggle and she managed to slip off and run out the door. She drove to a friend's home, called police and went to hospital. The sight in her left eye had been damaged, she said.

Mrs Hutchins agreed in cross-examination that she had an affair with a police officer the couple had known for many years. She said her husband had been treated by a psychiatrist after attempting suicide. In 1991 "something happened" which led in them "swapping partners" and she had sex with the officer, with her husband's agreement.

Royal confidante dies at 84

By ALAN HAMILTON

RUTH Lady Fermoy, grandmother of the Princess of Wales and one of the closest confidantes of Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother, died at her London home on Tuesday, it was disclosed yesterday.

Lady Fermoy, 84, died after only a brief illness, although she underwent heart surgery several years ago. Buckingham Palace said yesterday that a planned visit by the princess to Zimbabwe next week was expected to go ahead, although the princess was said

by friends to be distressed at her grandmother's death.

Lady Fermoy's death will be felt most keenly by the Queen Mother, who approaches her 93rd birthday next month surrounded by a diminishing band of long-serving courtiers and contemporaries.

Lady Fermoy had not been seen at recent public appearances by the Queen Mother. She died only hours after the Queen Mother, accompanied by Lady Grimthorpe, another Lady of the Bedchamber, had attended the

unveiling of ceremonial gates at Hyde Park.

Officially a Woman of the Bedchamber, Lady Fermoy had been an intimate of the Queen Mother since 1956. She denied widespread reports that the two influential women had plotted the marriage of their grandchildren. Lady Fermoy was said to have viewed the separation of the Prince and Princess of Wales last year as a betrayal of her own long service to the royal family.

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QE2 ma-
shares the
blame for
grounding

QE2 master 'shares the blame' for grounding

■ Cunard's flagship ran aground on uncharted rocks, says a report into the accident that caused £20 million damage

By TIM JONES, TRANSPORT CORRESPONDENT

THE master of the QE2 was yesterday said to be among those to blame for a series of errors and miscalculations that led to a huge tear in the keel of the Cunard flagship when she ran aground on uncharted rocks off the coast of the United States last year.

The liner, carrying 1,824 passengers and 1,003 crew, was on her way from the island of Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, to New York when she hit the unsurveyed rocks to the south of Cuttyhunk Island, Massachusetts.

Yesterday's report into the accident, which is estimated to have caused £20 million of damage, says the high speed of the vessel was a factor in the grounding.

But it emphasises that the rocks it hit were not shown on the charts of the US National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration or British Admiralty charts in use on the QE2.

The report, by the marine accident branch of the transport department, says that as a result the master, Captain Robin Woodall, was restricted in his ability to assess the reliability of the charts.

It says: "It is considered that the master was deceived by the appearance of the charts in use and placed undue reliance upon the information presented. It is also considered probable that if the correct depths had appeared on the chart, the need to avoid the area would have been recognised by both master and pilot and a different course to keep clear of it would have been set."

The QE2's speed of 25 knots increased the effect of the shallow water phenomenon known as squat, which drives a vessel down in the water and which was "substantially greater than had been allowed for."

Capt Woodall had expected squat to be 1.5ft; instead, the

how of the liner sank at least 2.7ft. The report says: "It is clear that he underestimated the magnitude of squat effect upon his vessel in the prevailing circumstances."

In addition, the report says, Capt Woodall overestimated the height of tide at the vessel for the time of grounding by about 2ft.

The report adds that prior to departure, the pilot was not consulted with the respect to the passage plan to be followed after passing a buoy.

"Such consultation would have revealed the differences between the vessel's intended passage compared with that of the pilot and a single plan could then have been agreed and understood by the pilot and the bridge team before departure," the report says.

"It is evident that the vessel would not have transited the grounding positions had either of the originally intended passage plans been strictly followed."

It is evident, the report says, that the progress of the vessel was not continually monitored during the six-minute interval between position fixes and that a deviation from the QE2's intended track remained unappreciated.

"In determining that an increase of speed to 25 knots was safe, it is considered that the master, although having confirmed the pilot's agreement, omitted to take full account of the effect of squat, the possible unreliability of charted information and the predicted height of tide throughout the departure passage."

The report also says that guidance requiring full co-operation between the ship's bridge team and the pilot was not fully heeded.

The investigators say that the UK Hydrographic Office should provide charted information relating to the dates and coverage areas of surveys conducted by other national authorities upon which a particular admiralty chart is based.

They also call on the Marine Directorate to provide further guidance on squat and its effects.

Cunard said yesterday it was satisfied that the cause of the grounding was the presence of significantly shallower depths than those charted.

"The QE2 grounded on shoals which should have been shown on the chart but were not. If the correct depths had been shown, the vessel would have avoided the area completely and the grounding would not have occurred."



Woodall: restricted by lack of chart details

Padre in car suicide

An army chaplain, Maj Christopher Wells, committed suicide in his fume-filled car after being charged with drink driving, a coroner ruled at Oxford yesterday.

Police patrolman Milton Fell, who had stopped Maj Wells, 43, of Shrewsbury, Oxfordshire, in April, said that the chaplain had told him that he was finished and that his career was over.

Life for arson

Paula Bailey, 62, was jailed for life at Nottingham Crown Court for the manslaughter of an 83-year-old neighbour at Mansfield after confessing she set fire to her flat in an incident the fire brigade had put down to an accident.

Allitt judgment

Judges in the Court of Appeal reserved judgment until tomorrow on an attempt by the families in the Beverley Allitt case to secure a public enquiry into the circumstances surrounding her killings.

£15,000 find

More than 6,500 copper and silver coins, dating from 250AD to 700AD, found in a field at Chalfont St Peter, Buckinghamshire, sold at auction in London for £15,033.

Lucky baby

Sonia Parveet, seven months, from Oldham, Lancashire, escaped with one small scratch when she was thrown from a car in an accident on the M6 motorway near Stafford.

Phone theft is costing £50m a year

By LOUISE HIDALGO

POLICE in Britain's main cities are faced with a spiralling increase in mobile phone thefts, a crime virtually unknown 18 months ago, and are almost powerless to stop the culprits.

Paul Condon, commissioner of the Metropolitan police, has become the latest high-profile victim after a telephone was stolen from his unattended Jaguar in central London.

Unofficial estimates are that up to 10,000 mobile phones are stolen each month and the offence accounts for almost 40 per cent of reported car crime. The Metropolitan police have set up squads to try to combat the problem, which costs the mobile phone industry alone £50 million a year.

In Chelsea, police have spent two months and more than £20,000 on a clamp down against the thefts. The result has been 93 arrests, but only 18 people have appeared in court. Most thieves were juveniles who were released with a caution, even after their third or fourth offence. They steal the phones on the way to and from school and sell them for cash or drugs.

When they do appear before a youth court, punishments can be light. One boy, regarded by police as one of the ringleaders in the Chelsea area, was fined £150.

The Federation of Communication Services, which represents the industry, yesterday told owners of mobile phones: "The only simple solution is to hide them or take them with you."

Royal College of Psychiatrists conference



Fresh beginning: Toni Blake cried with joy after her sex-change operation

Quacks cash in on rising demand for sex changes

By JEREMY LAURANCE, HEALTH SERVICES CORRESPONDENT

THE number of people seeking to change their sex has grown by more than a third in less than a decade, a psychiatrist said yesterday. But the NHS cannot cope with the demand, creating opportunities for "professional cowboys" to exploit vulnerable patients.

Dr Don Montgomery, director of the gender identity clinic at Charing Cross Hospital, said the number of new patients had grown from 180 in 1985 to 250 in 1993. Surveys in the UK and the Netherlands suggest the number of transsexuals — people living as members of the opposite sex — had tripled since the 1970s.

Speaking to the annual conference of the Royal College of Psychiatrists in Scarborough, Dr Montgomery said there was a hidden problem of people who felt uncomfortable with their gender, which was emerging as a result of more liberal attitudes and a more open social climate. "Some men

become irritable, depressed and anxious in the male role. Suicide rates up to 20 per cent have been recorded. Now it is safer to talk about it, they are beginning to explore what is available to help."

More men than women seek treatment by a margin of four to one. Mild cases, in which men feel "consciously envious of women and may have some effeminate characteristics," are common. In some patients the condition shows itself early in childhood and the first gender identity development clinic for children has been set up in St George's Hospital, London.

A few seek hormone treatment to reduce beard growth and change their body shape so they can live as a woman. The Charing Cross clinic carries out more than 40 gender reassignment operations a year on men.

But Dr Montgomery warned that some patients were being treated too soon, before they were properly prepared for the change. "Some of my colleagues are too quick to offer hormone

treatment. There are a number of professional cowboys in action, not all of them psychiatrists."

Many private clinics give hormones to patients on their first visit, but NHS clinics require patients to live as a member of the opposite sex for two years before having treatment.

There is a growing debate among specialists about whether discontent with gender is biologically or psychologically determined. In some patients the condition shows itself early in childhood and the first gender identity development clinic for children has been set up in St George's Hospital, London.

"Some children go through hell," said Dr Domenico Di Ceglie, its director. "If a boy feels like a girl, wants to play with dolls or go around with girls, he may be ostracised, bullied and end up refusing to go to school. Some start secretly cross-dressing, stealing their mothers' or sisters' clothes."

Parents need someone to talk to so that they don't reject the child as a monster and a pervert.

President emphasises role of the spiritual

By RUTH GLEDHILL AND PHIL THEISE

PSYCHIATRISTS should give less emphasis to a patient's sex life and more to his or her prayer life, the outgoing president of the Royal College of Psychiatrists said.

Psychiatrists are wrong in virtually excluding spiritual considerations, Professor Andrew Sims said. Many people spent more time in prayer than in sexual intercourse. "Why is it therefore that prayer is given so very much less prominence by our profession in our enquiries of patients?"

Professor Sims, in an address to the conference, said that expressions of religious faith were "unspeakable" now, just as sex was taboo at the start of the century. "Psychiatrists have exclusively concentrated upon the

'I have nightmares that I am still a man'

By BILL FROST

WHILE still at primary school, Toni Blake realised that his timid nature and fondness for dressing in his sister's clothes set him apart from other boys.

"Obviously, I did not realise at the age of seven that I was a transsexual, but I knew I felt wrong. I didn't fit in and couldn't mix at all," Miss Blake, 41, said. "I knew I shouldn't be wearing my sister's clothes when everyone had gone out, but it felt good. I find that I have blocked off most of my memories of childhood and adolescence because they are simply so miserable."

As a teenager, Miss Blake went out with girls but had little interest in a physical relationship. "Once I reached my twenties, though, I was living with another man and had become involved with the gay movement." While working as a refuse collector in Camden, north London — "it was a gay political decision to take the job" — he became increasingly unhappy with his gender.

After a long period of depression and sexual confusion, he decided to become a woman. "I was desperately unhappy and had begun to loathe my body. Every morning I would wake up hating what I was. I flinched and felt revolted every time someone called me 'he'. I knew I could live as a man no longer."

Three years ago, Miss Blake consulted a psychiatrist and began a course of hormone therapy. During the 12 months before the £5,000 sex-change operation in 1992, he lived as a woman. Others on the brink of such a fundamental transformation are frequently beset by doubt, but not Miss Blake. "Sure, you ask yourself how will I look, will people laugh, will I be able to get a job as a woman? But the alternative was just unbearable."

Miss Blake cried when she saw herself in the mirror after surgery. "I was just so happy. It hit me: this is me at last. It felt as though I had come home." Her parents eventually accepted that they now had a daughter. A year later, Miss Blake works as a self-defence instructor in Holloway, north London, and has no regrets about changing sex. "Occasionally I have nightmares that I am still a man."

She counsels fellow transsexuals through the Gender Membership Society and makes no secret of her operation when she meets potential boy friends. After a couple of hours, once they have got to know me, I tell them I used to be a man. So far, that has not been a problem."

□ The Gender Membership Society, BM, Gemtrust, London WC1N 3XX

Sociologist doubts brainwashing risk

By JEREMY LAURANCE, HEALTH SERVICES CORRESPONDENT

CAMPAIGNERS against the cults may be harming the people they are trying to protect. More than a million people in Britain are estimated to have contact with a cult and most have emerged unscathed, Professor Eileen Barker told the conference.

Professor Barker, a sociologist at the London School of Economics who set up a Home Office-funded scheme to help families with relatives who have joined cults, said parents should not assume their children have been brainwashed and should try to keep in touch with them.

"Far more people leave cults than the anti-cultists admit. That shows people can resist their lure. People are put under pressure to join, but

most resist it and many leave later."

She said the anti-cultists' exaggeration of the risks and emphasis on brainwashing undermined people's belief in themselves. "Often when they get out they are told they have been brainwashed and they are persuaded that they are incapable of understanding what happened to them. It causes an identity crisis."

Between 500 and 1,000 cults have been established in the past 40 years, promising a spiritual dimension to life in a secular society. Their effects on individuals is unpredictable. "The same movement can be liberating for some and stifling for other," Professor Barker said. "Some find security in a womb-like environment and can develop but others feel undermined."

Rare chough recovers after near disaster

By JOHN YOUNG

THE chough, Britain's rarest crow, is making a recovery after a serious decline in numbers, the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds said yesterday.

A survey last year in Scotland, Wales, the Isle of Man and Ireland counted 1,247 breeding pairs, compared with about 950 in 1982, an increase of nearly a third. More than 900 pairs were found south of the Irish border but only two in the north.

Choughs breed in crevices



and on ledges of sea cliffs and quarries. They were formerly found around the coasts of England, but the last pair was seen in Cornwall in 1968. The numbers decreased because of habitat changes, egg collecting and severe winters.

Peter Newbery, the society's

species manager, said the future of the chough depended on management of its remaining strongholds. Conservation measures such as a return to traditional farming practices would help.

The chough is about the size of a jackdaw, with glossy black feathers, a long downward-curving red beak and red legs. It feeds largely on soil invertebrates such as beetles, larvae, leatherjackets, weevils and ants.

□ An open day, with guided tours and entertainment, was held yesterday on the tiny island of Lundy, in the Bristol

channel, in an effort to attract more visitors. It has been hit by recession and by a series of bad summers which disrupted sailings of the Oldenburg, the island's supply ship.

Last year the Landmark Trust, which manages the island on behalf of its owner, the National Trust, made 11 staff redundant and warned that it could not continue bearing losses of more than £100,000 a year.

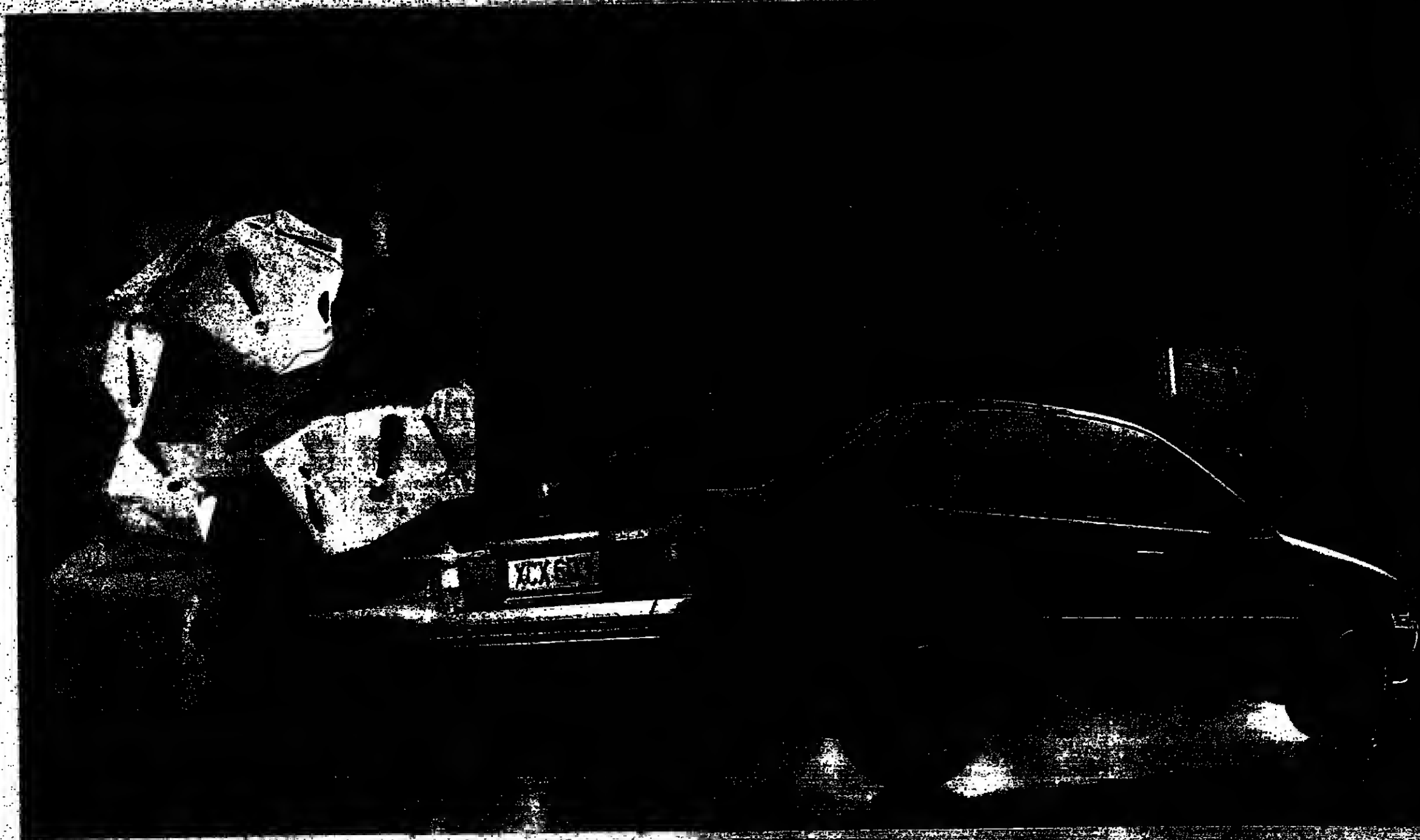
The island, a renowned wildlife centre, has fewer than 20 permanent residents, but houses left vacant have been made into holiday homes.



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WILSON BACK
FROM THE FRONT

More ministers are joining the debate on lone parenthood and family life

Churches censured over single mothers

By Jill Sherman, Political Correspondent

A GOVERNMENT minister yesterday called on the churches to take a firmer moral lead over the destruction of family life and the growth in single-parent families.

Tom Sackville, the junior health minister, called for a return to old-fashioned family values and said that the churches had a key role to play in creating a more stable environment for the nation's children.

As several ministers joined what appears to be an organised effort to raise the debate about lone parents, Mr Sackville said marriage should not be seen as an outdated religious abstraction.

Speaking at a conference on the nation's health in Liverpool, he said that a general reluctance to be judgmental over moral issues had been overcome. "We have to expect people to see there needs to be a contract between a father and mother to stay together to bring up a child they created." The churches should also give a firmer moral lead. They had been "too hesitant to promote family values".

Mr Sackville, on the party's centre left, yesterday aligned himself with ministers on the right of the party, such as John Redwood and Peter Lilley, who have questioned the financial incentives for lone parenthood.

Mr Sackville said: "It has to be said that the existence of a very comprehensive benefits and free housing system has reinforced the conclusion that anyone can have a baby at any time, regardless of their means and of the circumstances in which they can bring up their babies."

Bringing up a child on one's own could be an appalling and

fairly sad experience. Marriage was an age-old institution that was essential to a child's emotional well-being. "It evolved because children are delicate emotionally and psychologically and they need love, stability and the sort of circumstances that marriage can provide."

Mr Sackville's comments followed remarks by Mr Redwood, the Welsh secretary, John Gummer, the environment secretary, and Mr Lilley, the social security secretary, about the need to re-examine welfare support for single mothers. It is understood that

'A comprehensive benefits and free housing system has reinforced the conclusion that anyone can have a baby at any time, regardless of their circumstances'

the issue has been raised partly because of the imminent publication of a report on the issue from the right-wing No Turning Back Group. Mr Redwood told cabinet colleagues three weeks ago that he intended to make a speech about single parents and his paper was vetoed by Mr Lilley before he did so.

"The prime minister is happy for the issue of lone parents to be widely debated before he decides what action to take. Yesterday David Hunt, the employment secretary, and Alistair Burt, the junior social security minister, added their voices to the debate. Mr Hunt, speaking on BBC Radio 4,

blamed men who ran away from their responsibilities and said that they should give both moral and financial support.

Mr Burt, who has been trying to project a less censorious approach than some of his colleagues, said that single mothers living in council flats had found it difficult to bring up a child in those circumstances. He said that putting young mothers on their own with the child was not necessarily the best way. "My starting point is the welfare of the child. The child must be a valued part of the equation."

David Blunkett, Labour's health spokesman, who has agreed that there should be more appropriate housing for single parents, yesterday criticised Mr Sackville for moralising about lone parents while cutting school health services and failing to provide adequate housing or child care help.

"Employment policies do not assist lone parents to rejoin the work-force because of totally inadequate child-care provision," he said. "And housing policies are so restrictive that a belief has arisen in some areas — misplaced though it is — that having a baby is the only way to get a council house."

Marjorie Mowlem, shadow minister for citizen's rights, said that children were paying the price for the government's incompetence. "It is not for this government to penalise certain children because a particular minister does not approve of the nature of family life. How can they seek to cut the living standards of such children because the Treasury is desperate to save money because it has failed to run the economy successfully?"



The family issue: Tom Sackville speaking on health in Liverpool yesterday

Pregnancy is a short cut to poverty trap for teenagers

By Ian Murray

ASK Denise Mumford if becoming a single parent is a smart way of jumping the housing queue and she laughs bitterly. "It's a quick route into the poverty trap," she said.

Mrs Mumford is director of Wel-Care, a Church of England charity working with single mothers in the South-west district of London. In some areas of the diocese, half the children are from lone parent families.

"Most of the people we deal with aren't very good at thinking about the future," she said. "If they had the guts to get pregnant just to get benefits and better housing they would probably be too clever to get pregnant in the first place, because being a single parent is a sure way to poverty."

Few of the girls Wel-Care deals with want to be pregnant, Mrs Mumford said. "They are usually terrified when they discover what has

happened. The thing is that most of these young girls lack the confidence to say no."

"Even if they start a one-parent family, most of these girls are perfectly capable of coping if only there were better social conditions. The trouble is, they face a whole range of stresses. Thirty per cent of the cases we deal with are homeless, living in bed and breakfast or with relatives. Another 67 per cent have severe housing problems even if they do have a home. Nearly 98 per cent have to survive on benefit payments. Many of them are isolated and lonely. A lot of them were abused as children so they don't have a very good pattern to follow and that means they don't know how to make a good relationship with a partner."

Millie Reid, a Wel-Care counsellor, finds that most single parents want to work, partly to regain their self-

spect, but cannot because day nurseries have been closed in local government cuts. "The only places available are for children at risk, which means those who are being abused by their parents. This means that you are penalised if you are a good parent because you are not able to put your child into a day nursery, so you have to stay unemployed and draw benefit instead."

Janet Pearce, a counsellor with the charity Teenage Information Network, dismisses any idea that young women choose pregnancy as a way of getting benefits. "If a teenager decides to have a baby she is caught in a poverty trap," she said. "If her parents are poor as well, she can't afford to put the baby into a day nursery and get back into education. That means she can never get the training she needs to get a job and is condemned to live in poverty on benefits."

THE TIMES WORLD CHESS CHAMPIONSHIP

By Raymond Keene
CHESS CORRESPONDENT

AT a recent tournament in Madrid, Topalov and Kramnik attracted criticism by drawing their game in 11 moves after seven minutes of play. There will be no danger of such premature cessation of hostilities in the Times World Chess Championship between Garry Kasparov and Nigel Short. A draw helps neither player and Kasparov is noted for his fighting spirit even when level.

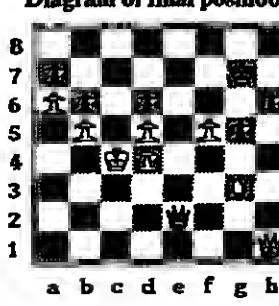
Today's game is an example. Many players would regard the chosen opening as sterile, but Kasparov proves that even in the exchange variation of the French Defence there are hidden resources to probe for a win. Short narrowly escapes defeat.

White: Kasparov
Black: Short
Tilburg 1991

French Defence

1	e4	e6
2	d4	d5
3	exd5	cxd5
4	Nf3	Bg4
5	N3	Bh5
6	Qe2+	Qe7
7	Be3	Nc6
8	Nc3	O-O
9	g4	Bg5
10	O-O	h6
11	a3	Qd7
12	Nd2	f5
13	Nb3	Nf6
14	Q	Bd6
15	Qd2	Ph6
16	Bg5	tg4
17	tg4	Q7
18	Nc5	Kb8
19	Nd6	cxh6
20	Bd3	Bd3
21	Qd3	h6
22	Bd2	Ph6
23	Nc5	Nc5
24	Ba5	Rd8
25	Bd2	Nd7
26	Rd1	N8
27	Rd8	Rd6
28	Rf5	Rf5
29	h4	Nd6
30	h5	Nd8
31	b4	Nc6
32	b5	Ne7
33	h4	Nc8
34	a5	Qd8
35	Rf3	Rf7
36	R3	Ph7
37	Rd7	Qd7
38	Q3	Kc7
39	Bd4	Kd7
40	Qd3+	Kc7
41	Q3	Kc8
42	Kd2	Kc7
43	Kd1	Ne7
44	Ba1	b6
45	a6	b5
46	Bh4	Qb6
47	h2	Qd7
48	Qh1	Qd8
49	h4	Kd7
50	Kd2	Kd7
51	cxh5	Kd7
52	Kd3	Q7

Diagram of final position



Reader's game
I have been delighted by the response to my invitation to submit games by Times readers for possible inclusion in this column. Please continue sending them to me at Championship Chess, The Times, 1 Fenchurch St, London EC3N 4NN. Noel Gallagher of Belfast won the following interesting game.

White: W. Torres
Black: N. Gallagher
Queens University, Belfast 1993

Benoni Defence

1	d4	Nf6
2	c4	c5
3	d5	e6
4	Nc3	exd5
5	cxh5	d6
6	Nf3	g6
7	h4	Bg7
8	Bd5+	Nbd7
9	B4	Qe7
10	Qe2	O-O
11	O-O	Re8
12	Nd2	h6
13	Bc3	Nf5
14	Bc3	Ne5
15	Bc2	Ng4
16	Bd4	h5
17	Bb3	Nee3
18	Qe3	Re5
19	Rf1	Nf6
20	h4	Ng4
21	Qe2	Qd4
22	N3	Qh5
23	g5	Bd7
24	Qd1	h4
25	Bc2	h5
26	b3	Rf8
27	a3	h3
28	Bd1	Rd3
29	Kf2	Re8
30	Rf1	Re2+
31	Qd2	Re2+
32	Kg1	Qd1+
33	Kh1	g2+
34	Kg1	Bh2 mate

Czech visitors

The third Smith and Williamson Young Masters will take place on July 12-22 at King Edward's School, Godalming, Surrey. There will be four or five international tournaments, headed by the Masters, featuring Czech players.

Championship update

Tickets for the Times championship include a guaranteed seat, free glass of champagne, souvenir programme, chess book and use of a personal Predict-a-move computer game system fitted into every seat in the Savoy Theatre, London. Play is from 3.30pm to 9.30pm every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday from September 7 to October 30. Any adjourned games, to which ticket holders will be admitted free, will continue next day at the same time. Times readers booking during July will be entitled to a free lunch at Simpson's-in-the-Strand, the home of chess. Ring First Call on 071 497 9977 for credit card bookings or Simpson's for the lunch promotion on 071 836 9112.

Winning move, page 44

Dutch prepare to cut benefit

By Our Foreign Staff

SINGLE motherhood is under scrutiny in many western countries. In the Netherlands, the cost grows. The Netherlands plans to cut social security payments to single parents and a new law to force estranged parents to contribute to the upkeep of their former partners has provoked protest.

There are 350,000 single parents, most of whom are from low income groups and 85 per cent of which are women. The government plans benefit cuts for claimants aged between 21 and 27. United States: by the end of the decade it is estimated

that more than half of children will grow up without a father. For the black population, that milestone was reached two years ago.

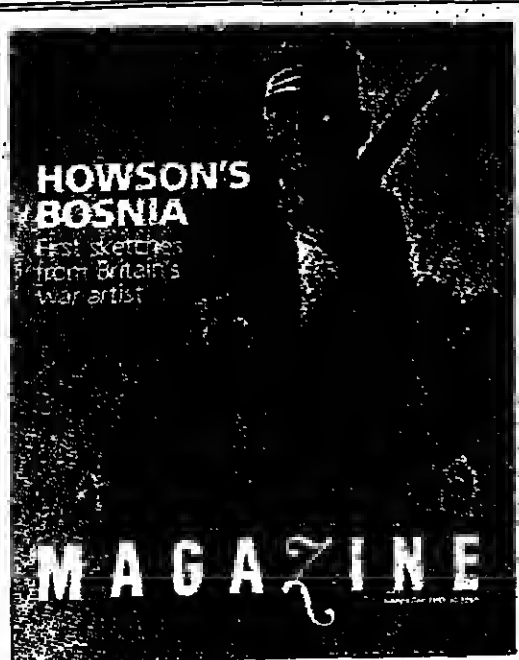
The level of support varies between states. Broad federal guidelines allow for additional payments for each child in some states until the child reaches maturity. In other states welfare payments are on a sliding scale, with less for each successive child.

Earlier this year President Clinton initiated discussions on cutting off payments after two years unless a single parent was willing to train

or get a job, but this appears to have been shelved.

In Germany, there are 2,445,000 unmarried mothers, approximately 16 per cent of all women with children. The proportion is higher in eastern Germany.

About 60 per cent are in full time employment but tend to be at the bottom of the income scale. Single mothers get the same child benefit as married mothers: £28 a month for the first child, £50 for the second, £60 for the third and £100 for the fourth. Child care costs can be set against income tax for every child under 16.



HOWSON BACK FROM THE FRONT

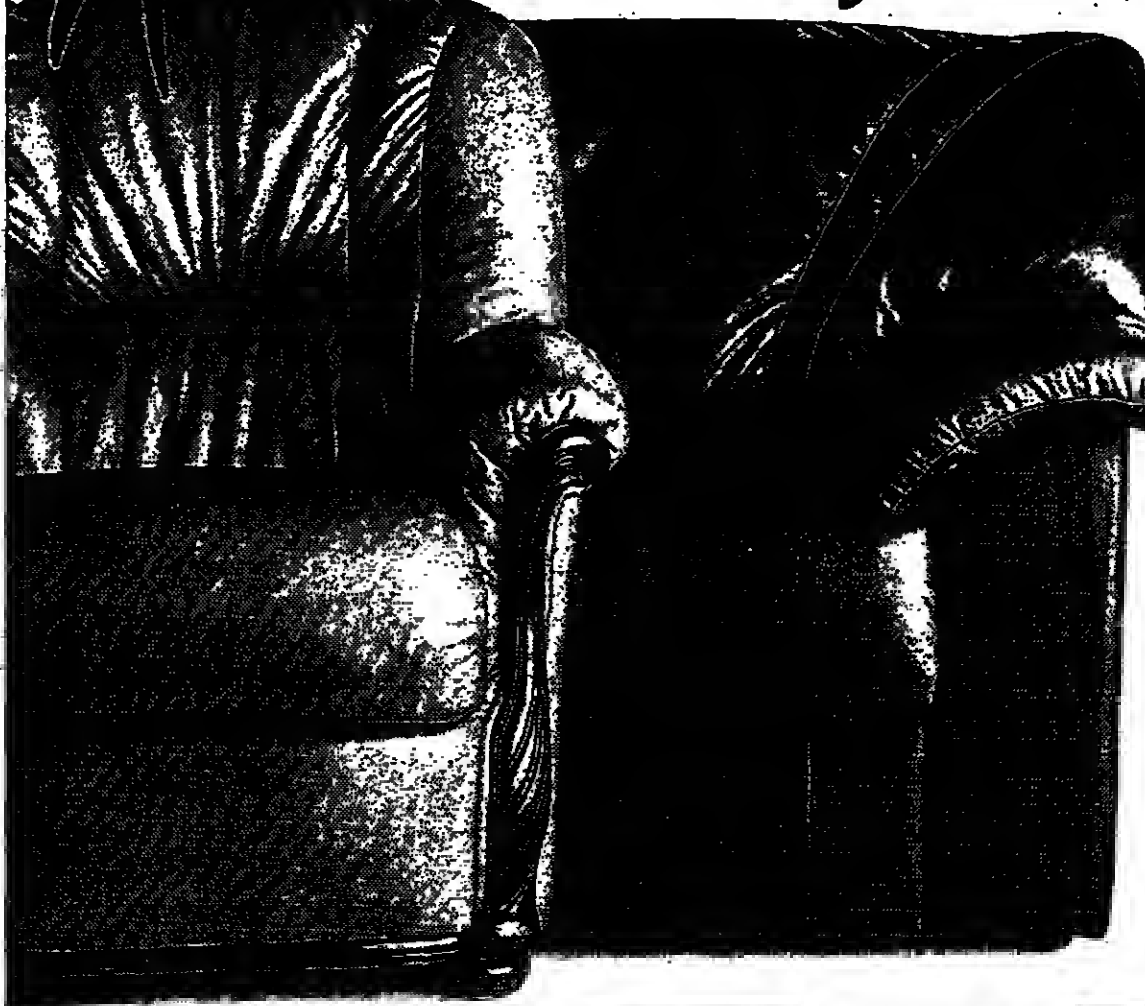
"All of a sudden, a group of about ten guys burst out of the woods, camouflaged and brandishing guns. They had rounds of ammunition strung all over their bodies, and were backed up by another 50 or so men under cover. If it hadn't been for the Scimitars, which fixed them with their gun turrets, they would have succeeded in taking and killing us."

Peter Howson, The Times official war artist in Bosnia, tells first-hand of life at the front. Linda Grant on the British rescue of Bosnian children which has gone terribly wrong

And we publish Howson's first colour sketches of the many faces of human suffering he saw.

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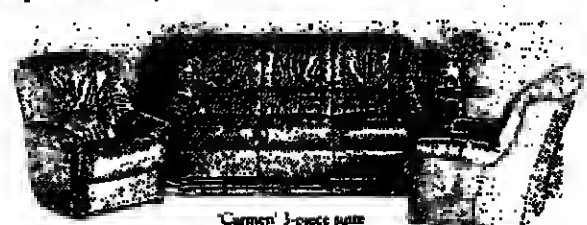
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Jobs fears renew pressure on Tories in Christchurch poll

By NICHOLAS WOOD
AND JONATHAN PYNN

EASTBOURNE put the skids under Margaret Thatcher. Ribbles Valley buried the poll tax. Newbury snuffed out Norman Lamont's slim hopes of survival and raised questions about John Major. What will be Christchurch's legacy when voters go to the polls on July 29?

Although speculation about the prime minister's future has died down recently, not least because the Tory right peered into the abyss and saw Kenneth Clarke, another debacle would put the pressure back on Mr Major. It is not for nothing that the Tory high command has timed the poll to take place shortly after the MPs start their summer recess.

Christchurch is among the top 20 safest Tory seats, and the untimely death of Robert Adley has bequeathed Robert Hayward a 23,000 majority. In normal times Mr Hayward, who lost his Kingswood seat at the general election, could be confident of resuming his Commons career. But these are not normal times.

It is now more than four years since the Tories successfully defended a seat at a by-election. William Hague held Richmond in North Yorkshire in spite of a 25.6 per cent swing to the centre parties. Since then, swings of more than 20 per cent to the Liberal Democrats have become common-

■ The government's fortunes will depend on the Tory candidate's ability to reassure the elderly voters of Christchurch on July 29

place. Eastbourne fell on a 20 per cent swing, Ribbles Valley on 25 per cent and Newbury on 28 per cent. A movement of 20 per cent in Christchurch would put paid to Mr Hayward's hopes.

As Sir Norman Fowler, the Tory chairman, prepares to launch his party's campaign tomorrow, his strategists believe that Christchurch could mark a turning point in the government's fortunes. In Mr Hayward, an MP for nine years, a shrewd self-taught pse-

phologist and a popular and respected figure among the media, the Tories appear to have their best by-election candidate in many years.

Julian Davidson, the hapless young man swept away by grassroots Tory anger at Newbury, never recovered from being dubbed "Mr Blobby" by the press. Mr Hayward is expected to fight a more robust and direct campaign. Central Office also believes that after four months of falling unem-

ployment and signs of life in the economy, the voters of Christchurch will need less persuading that the recession is over.

However, some local firms have become more pessimistic since Mr Adley's death. Paul Levein, managing director of Mosyn, a soft furnishings manufacturer that employs nearly 200 in Christchurch, said yesterday that sales had fallen off "frighteningly" since a blip in the economy in May. He said he would be surprised if

many of his workforce voted Conservative on July 29.

A renewed growth in unemployment is also against Mr Hayward. Only last month FLS Aerospace, one of a concentration of firms based at nearby Hurn Airport, shed 116 workers.

The Liberal Democrats will not be able to play the local card to the same effect as they did in Newbury. Both Mr Hayward and Diana Maddock, the centre party candidate, live outside the consti-

tuency, although Mrs Maddock is a councillor in nearby Southampton.

With 34 per cent of the population over 60, the by-election may well come to be seen as a watershed in British politics. Perhaps never before have grey issues played such a pivotal role in a parliamentary election.

There is a comfortably old-fashioned feel about Christchurch. Amusement arcades and garish fast food outlets are in short-supply and the most visible sports facility is the genteel bowls club. But for all its conservatism, it is an angry town. Speak to voters on the High Street and the same issues come up time and again: VAT on fuel, pensions, the NHS and prescription charges, law and order and the economy.

Mr Hayward's secret weapon could turn out to be his support for capital punishment. In 1983 the populist candidate voted for the restoration of the death penalty for all categories of murder after first ascertaining the views of his constituents. The signs are that he is about to repeat the stunt.

The Labour vote, down to 12 per cent at the general election, will again be squeezed to extinction as the public demonstrate their growing flair for tactical voting. If Mr Hayward is beaten, it will be left to the party's spin doctors to utter their unconvincing claim that they have helped to mobilise the anti-Tory majority.



Green peace: "grey" politics rises to the fore in the Christchurch by-election

Smith plea fails to win over union

By PHILIP BASSETT, INDUSTRIAL EDITOR, AND JILL SHERMAN

JOHN SMITH will receive the biggest blow yet to his plans to reform Labour's links with the trade unions when Labour's biggest affiliated union today rejects a direct appeal from the Labour party leader.

Mr Smith told the TGWU transport workers' conference yesterday that he was seeking to "modernise" and not to destroy the link between Labour and the unions. Delegates were last night unswayed by his words and the TGWU's vote today will take the union block votes stacked up against Mr Smith to more than four million, with only 600,000 in his favour.

The rejection is bound to clear the way for private talks between Labour and union leaders aimed at finding a compromise to "avoid" the unions inflicting on Mr Smith a humiliating defeat on the issue at the party conference.

Mr Smith's advisers now accept the sheer scale of the union majority against him, but are resting their hopes on what they see as the "political chemistry" of the expected

discussions between the party and the unions. They acknowledge that talks to find a deal may run on right up to the eve of the party conference in September.

Leading union activists and senior union leaders made it plain yesterday after Mr Smith's address to the conference in Bournemouth that they saw as yet little room for compromise and were unmoved by Mr Smith's appeals.

In advance of the conference today approving a motion which specifically rejects the compromise proposals being floated by Mr Smith, the Labour leader made no mention of his suggested readiness to see the unions maintain their role in future elections for "his successor" and the party's deputy leader. However, he insisted on the application of the principle of one member, one vote (Omvo), to the local selection of party candidates.

After calling on trade unionists in their "hundreds of thousands" to become full Labour party members, Mr

Smith said: "If we invite people to join our party in record numbers, we must give them the right to select our parliamentary candidates under a simple procedure: one member, one vote."

Mr Smith prompted a rumble of disapproval from the conference delegates when he said that "we should not be afraid of modernising our relationship", with some delegates hissing him at that point.

But because he was judged to have spoken confidently, and woven in deft pledges on such issues as the minimum wage and new employment rights, the non-Omvo bulk of the speech went down well.

Afterwards, Bill Morris, the TGWU general secretary, said it was "patently obvious" that the TGWU and Mr Smith were still in sharp disagreement over Omvo.

John Edmonds, the GMB general secretary, who made a special visit to the TGWU conference to hear Mr Smith, said only that it was a "good speech", though it is believed

Mr Edmonds sees little mileage in Mr Smith's hinted compromise.

Labour's special committee on its trade union links will meet next week to review the results of a consultation exercise in the party on the issue, and to make recommendations to the full Labour executive the following week.

Neil Kinnock, the former Labour leader, yesterday said that Mr Smith was not prepared to stake his leadership on his plans for trade union reform.

As speculation mounted that Mr Smith would compromise on leadership elections and possibly on the election of parliamentary candidates, Mr Kinnock said: "He's not holding a pistol at anyone's head. He's not going to bludgeon off the stage if he doesn't get his own way."

Those who wish the Labour party well will be voting with John Smith," Mr Kinnock said on BBC Radio 4's *The World at One*.

Leading article, page 17



Lawson: supporting an independent central bank

Lawson backs new bank role

By ARTHUR LEATHLEY

LORD Lawson of Blaby last night warned the government that an independent Bank of England was necessary to remove market fears of "sinister" economic plans to allow inflation to soar.

The former Chancellor claimed that there was increasing pressure worldwide for national banks to be independent of government and pressed for John Major to follow the lead of countries such as France and New Zealand. Failure to create an independent bank would, in particular, raise fears about future counter-inflationary policy. "The markets are going to feel that there is something sinister about any government that doesn't confer independence on a central bank."

Giving evidence to the Commons Treasury select committee reporting on the Bank of England's role, Lord Lawson added: "If the government refrains from that, there must be an inference that the government will, at some stage, be prepared to allow inflation to rise."

Referring to Norman Lamont's resignation speech comments about political needs influencing economic decision-making, he said that decisions were not affected, although their precise timing might be.

Lord Lawson said that he had become convinced in early 1988 of the benefits of an independent bank in the battle against inflation. Although it would not be a panacea, it would add greater credibility to the government's cause.

The bank would be given greater accountability through reporting to a Commons select committee, and through the appointment by Parliament of members of the bank's council, Lord Lawson said.

AROUND THE LOBBY

Hopes of rate cut dampened

Interest rates are unlikely to be cut again before the November Budget, Kenneth Clarke, the Chancellor, who is in Tokyo for the G7 summit, signalled yesterday (Philip Webster writes).

He suggested in interviews that the government would first have to get public spending down before it could consider further reductions. In remarks clearly aimed at putting pressure on the cabinet spending ministers in the tough spending battle being fought in Whitehall, the Chancellor welcomed last week's cut in German interest rates.

Minister defends cuts

Malcolm Rifkind, the defence secretary, denounced critics of his latest round of cuts in armed services' equipment (Michael Evans writes).

Russian tank output was down by 30 per cent in 1992, fighters and helicopters by 50 per cent, and bombers by a third, he said. "This is the kind of evidence which makes me confident in the judgment that we are able to make those selective reductions in force levels which I announced this week," he said at the Royal United Services Institute in London.

Letters, page 17

Parliament today

Commons (2.30): Questions: agriculture, fisheries and food; prime minister. Debate on occupational pensions, including Maxwell pensioners' trust. Lords (3): Leasehold reform, housing and urban development bill, Commons amendments. National lottery bill, committee.

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AT LEAST A THIRD OFF selected Windsmoor, Planet, Dash, Alexon, Eastex and Berkertex

ACCESSORIES

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ONE THIRD OFF selected Debenhams handbags
ONE THIRD OFF selected Presence, Gossard, Playtex and Charnos lingerie
AT LEAST A THIRD OFF ALL Equator luggage
AT LEAST A THIRD OFF selected Lilley and Skinner and Vivaldi ladies' shoes
AT LEAST A THIRD OFF selected Rochelle costume jewellery

CHILDRENSWEAR

ONE THIRD OFF selected children's Bright Futures dresses
ONE THIRD OFF selected children's nightwear
ONE THIRD OFF selected toddlerwear sets

MENSWEAR

THIRD OFF selected Casual tops, T-shirts and short sleeve shirts
THIRD OFF selected Casual Club shorts
THIRD OFF selected Classics shirts
THIRD OFF selected Classics and Casual Club trousers
THIRD OFF selected Casual Sport
AT LEAST A THIRD OFF selected men's suits

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Daily Telegraph

Tokyo summit breakthrough

Deal hailed as stimulus to jobs and price cuts

By ROBIN YOUNG

LOWER prices in the shops and more job opportunities in Britain should eventually result from yesterday's breakthrough, according to the British consumer lobby which has long campaigned for freer world trade.

John Major said that the deal could bring more than 300,000 jobs to Britain over the next decade.

Stephen Locke, director of policy at the Consumers' Association, said agreement heralded "enormous" benefits. "For consumers, the effects of free trade promise wider choice, greater competition,



Major: 300,000 more jobs in a decade

CONSUMER REACTION

lower prices and better living standards," he said.

Mr Locke added: "We have been campaigning hard for the past three years alongside other consumer organisations worldwide for a new Gatt round, because we are all convinced that consumers have a lot to gain if it succeeds, and a lot to lose if it does not. Protectionism always costs consumers dear, whether it is in the form of high tariffs, quotas or other measures to keep competitive goods out."

A spokesman for the National Consumer Council said: "The agreements should mean cheaper imports in the shops, but also wider access to markets abroad for our products too. As other countries benefit, they too will be able to buy more from us. There can be little doubt that there will be a downward effect on prices, and in the longer term we would look for better employment prospects too."

The consumer groups believe that the quickest effect may be in the field of consumer electronics, where high EC tariffs have been restricting imports from other countries.

The National Consumer Council claimed recently that electronic goods, like CD players, video-recorders and cas-

settes, photocopyers and computer printers cost British consumers and businesses an estimated £274 million a year more than they should.

Across the EC as a whole the extra cost was estimated at £1,293 million.

The NCC calculated recently that the arrangements between the EC and Japan would cost European consumers £23.4 billion in higher car prices over the next seven years, adding an average of £230 to the price of every car sold in the EC, and an average of £743 to each Japanese car sold in the EC.

The consumer lobby also believes that clothes in Britain would be 5 per cent lower if it were not for an arrangement which limits EC imports from poorer textile producers.

The NCC argued, in support of further liberalisation, that there was no evidence that trade restrictions to protect home industries were ever effective. "Jobs saved in one sector by protectionism may actually lead to losses, or stiller job growth, in another because of the knock-on effect on consumers' spending power," an NCC spokesman said.

"If consumers face higher prices for one set of goods, they clearly have less to spend

on everything else," Ian Campbell, director-general of the Institute of Export, said the agreement must be regarded as "extremely good news". Tariff cuts would help restrain inflation and "may also stimulate consumer spending". He calculated a Gatt deal could be worth an additional £10 billion a year to British firms.

The Confederation of British Industry, in welcoming the agreement, said: "New worldwide rules for trade and investment are desperately needed to promote economic growth, jobs and business confidence in world markets."

The Institute of Directors said the world could not afford to repeat the mistakes that led to protectionism and depression in the 1930s. A spokesman added: "A successful conclusion of the Gatt negotiations is just as critical to the interests of the UK as the single (European) market and certainly more important than Maastricht."

However, a National Farmers' Union spokesman warned that a Gatt deal could mean "further pain" for farmers unless they were treated fairly.

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Whisky galore: the still room at Bowmore's distillery on the Hebridean island of Islay. Scotch whisky exports are expected to soar under the new tariff agreement

Japanese warm to prospect of cheap scotch

By JOANNA PIDMAN IN TOKYO AND ROBIN YOUNG

The news that the latest Tokyo agreement would cut 170 yen (just over £1) off a bottle of imported whisky warmed the hearts of Tokyo's weary businessmen as well as Scottish producers.

Unpatriotically partial to a regular slug of Johnny Walker as opposed to such home-grown brands as "Very Rare Old" and "Black & White", Japanese whisky drinkers were toasting the decision last night in smoky subterranean bars all over the country.

Mama-san, the awesome proprietress with gravelly voices and matronly manners who preside over these urban drinking holes, were out in force last night, mixing scores of celebratory Mizuwari

Scotch (scotch and water on the rocks) and preparing for unusually heavy duties later on, scooping their happy customers off the floor and into their midnight taxis.

Japan is the fourth largest export market for scotch, accounting for £178 million in sales last year, but it was previously second only to America. Japan's purchases of scotch have been overtaken by those of France and Spain.

Tony Tucker, director of public affairs of the Scotch Whisky Association, said that while there was "much euphoria" about the Japanese promise to eliminate import duty, there was still concern that Japan's promise in 1989 to reduce its local liquor tax differentials had not yet been fully implemented.

Mr Tucker said the industry hopes now to expand exports not only in Japan, but also in Korea, Taiwan, China, Thailand and Hong Kong. "The announcement should increase distillers' confidence in the Far East market. That may help to underpin jobs in the industry, whose employment in Scotland has dwindled from 26,000 to 15,000 in ten years."

Bruce Wilson, of Hiram Walker, the spirits and wine division of Allied-Lyons, said sales to the Far East, especially Japan, Korea and Taiwan, could more than double in an open market.

Although the reduced prices for scotch ought to expand this market, some are of the opinion that the Japanese belief that high prices implies high quality could yet muddy this theory. The season for summer gifts (which account for much of the scotch market in Japan) is upon us and if scotch prices are slashed, sales paradoxically may fall.

That is because the Japanese like to give spirits as gifts and everyone knows the precise price of a bottle of 12-year-old Glenfiddich. The more expensive French brandy may end up taking precedence.

Note of caution in chorus of praise

By ROSS TIEMAN, INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

BRITISH business leaders tempered their enthusiasm for the agreement on the liberalisation of world trade, with caution about its likely impact. "Successful completion of the Gatt negotiations is just as important to United Kingdom firms as the single market and certainly more important than the Maastricht treaty," a spokesman for the Institute of Directors said. "We welcome any progress on an agreement which would lead to open and free trade worldwide."

The Confederation of British Industry was equally emphatic. "A substantial market access package is an essential part of the wider agreement needed," its spokesman said. "New worldwide rules on trade and investment are desperately needed to promote economic growth, jobs and business confidence in world markets."

Norman Willis, general secretary of the Trades Union Congress, said the deal offered "a golden opportunity to aid global economic recovery."

But there was uncertainty about the extent to which the package offered benefits to individual industries. Among the most optimistic were scotch whisky producers. They were confident that a cut of £1 a bottle in Japan, one of their biggest markets, would significantly improve sales.

Many of the sectors where the G7 countries propose removal of all tariffs are industries in which Britain has traditionally been among the world leaders. In chemicals and pharmaceuticals, for example, leading British companies contribute to a sizeable trade surplus. They are confident they can win in free markets, but they will do so by concentrating on high-technology products. In their home market they are likely to face

tougher competition from overseas manufacturers paying lower wages, almost certainly placing British jobs under threat in some sectors.

British exports of tractors and farm machinery already exceed imports by hundreds of millions of pounds. Here, too, a global trade deal would open up export markets for many companies.

The announcement also proposes a reduction of tariffs on textiles and clothing, products in which Britain has a £2.4 billion trade deficit. But leaders of the British textile industry believe tariff reductions will make it easier for them to export more of the output of Britain's successful fashion industry.

Marathon bargaining has boosted hope of success

By COLIN NARBROUGH WORLD TRADE CORRESPONDENT

THIS promising package of market-opening measures agreed in Tokyo by America, Canada, Japan and the European Community has given the biggest lift for a long time to hopes that marathon negotiations on far freer world trade will ultimately succeed.

The Uruguay round talks, named after the country in which they were started in 1986, aim to broaden and deepen the scope for multilateral free trade under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt). But the complex and, for many commentators, over-ambitious talks were supposed to have finished at the end of 1990. They have overrun all subsequent deadlines too.

The four parties to the Tokyo deal on deep cuts in tariffs for manufacturers are seeking to conclude the Uruguay round by December 15, the deadline provided by fast-track authority Congress and granted to President Clinton for clinching a deal. But America, the driving force behind Gatt, set up in 1948 as part of the post-war Pax Americana, has adopted an increasingly protectionist stance since the Uruguay round began, resorting to managed trade,

especially with Japan. The sluggish world economy has furthermore created a less favourable climate for free trade, as governments try to avoid the short-term shocks that a sweeping removal of barriers to trade can mean for domestic industry. The number of participating



Dunkel: veteran of skilful debating

states in the Gatt has risen from 23 in 1947 to well over a hundred. They already account for more than 90 per cent of world trade. Russia applied to join last month.

The current Gatt round, which seeks to extend free trade rules to agricultural produce, services and intel-

lectual property, was born out of the six-year long Tokyo round, concluded in 1979. That round ended in a series of tariff reductions and accords removing non-tariff barriers.

A ministerial meeting of Gatt, took the first steps in 1982 that led to the Uruguay round being formally opened at Punta del Este, the Uruguayan coastal resort, in September 1986.

The so-called Blair House accord on agricultural exports and domestic subsidies caused a huge gulf between the US and Europe, particularly France. The skilful diplomacy of Arthur Dunkel, the veteran Gatt director general, led to negotiations being resumed in 1991, but progress was slow.

The round showed little real sign of coming to life again until the Blair House accord. Since then Sir Leon Brittan, the European trade commissioner, and Mickey Kantor, the American trade representative, have pushed hard to inject fresh momentum into the round. A spate of meetings, including a bilateral huddle, intended to be secret, at Heathrow, are understood to have led to the four-cornered breakthrough in Tokyo.

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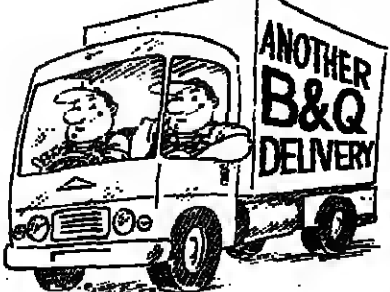
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Gatt nations heed at last the sage advice of an 18th-century Scot



Smith: taught that free trade increases wealth of all partners simultaneously

THE breakthrough at the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade talks in Tokyo marks yet another triumph for the Scottish sage who more than 200 years ago laid down the principles of modern economics. The last two decades of the 20th century have been good years for Adam Smith. First came the collapse of the centrally planned economies; now comes the prospect of a worldwide redefinition of the merits of free trade.

Smith was born 270 years ago in Kirkcaldy. The most exciting incident in his uneventful life was probably his kidnapping by gypsies in childhood. Fortunately for posterity, he was restored to his mother and left home at 14 to study at Glasgow University. After a brief but unhappy sojourn at Oxford

Smith recognised that protection sounds good only to those faced by superior competition; he would have understood the French farmers, argues Madsen Pirie

(poor teaching), he became a professor at Glasgow. He was revered in his day for his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, but his claims to immortality rest on his classic work, *The Wealth of Nations*. He was the first to spot that nations do not become rich by hoarding gold and silver, but by expanding the productive wealth of their peoples. He realised that wealth is created by the division of labour. When the tailor buys his shoes from a shoemaker,

and a shoemaker suits from a tailor, each can concentrate on what they do best. Smith's insight was to understand that this meant the most efficient production of both shoes and suits and that the cash saved could be spent elsewhere. "It is the maxim of every prudent family," he said, "never to attempt to make at home what it will cost him more to make than to buy." He took this on to the international stage by observing that "if a foreign

country can supply us with a commodity cheaper than we ourselves can make it, better buy it of them." This is the very essence of the case for free trade, and it is still true today. Countries which impose tariffs and duties on foreign goods in order to protect their own industries are doing themselves and the world no favour. They end up paying more than they need to for their goods, and have less cash to spare for what they are good at producing.

Smith himself gave a famous example. "By means of glasses, hothouses and hotwells, very good grapes can be raised in Scotland, and very good wine can be made of them at about 30 times the expense for which at least equally good can be bought from foreign countries." Why not, he asked, buy the

cheaper foreign stuff and use the resources saved to invest in something that could be produced cheaper and better in Scotland? Smith recognised that protection sounds good to industries faced by superior competition, and to the politicians who represent them. He would have understood French farmers and their government perfectly. But he steadfastly maintained that free trade benefits all of us. Governments which engage in "managed trade", as the Clinton administration threatens to, "only hurt the interest of any one order of citizens for no other purpose but to promote that of some other."

The great virtue of free trade that Smith highlighted is that it brings mutual advantage. Nations had been taught to believe

they could prosper only by making others poorer, that gain to others meant loss to themselves. Smith taught them that this was not so, that free trade enabled all trading partners to increase their wealth simultaneously.

Now, at last, after years of discord, ruinous tariffs and competing barriers, the world seems to be heeding his lesson once again. If the Gatt agreement is signed after Tokyo, it should have Smith's words as its preface: "Every town or country... in proportion as they have opened their ports to all nations, instead of being ruined by this free trade, as the principles of the commercial system would lead us to expect, have been enriched by it."

Dr Pirie is president of the Adam Smith Institute.

Leaders jubilant at biggest ever tariff cuts in world trade

FROM PHILIP WEBSTER
POLITICAL EDITOR
IN TOKYO

THE biggest tariff reduction in history was agreed here yesterday as negotiators achieved a breakthrough in the protracted world trade talks and voiced hopes of a final agreement before the end of the year.

Duties would be swept away on a wide range of goods and sharply reduced on others if yesterday's "market access" accord, which boosted the Group of Seven summit here, leads eventually to a conclusion of the seven-year-old Uruguay round trade talks.

Jubilant ministers predicted a huge impact on jobs and growth across the world after the pre-summit deal by the world's four largest trading

blocs. The US claimed it could mean a \$1,100 billion (£728 million) boost to US output and create 1.4 million new jobs over ten years. Overall, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt) deal is reputed to be worth about \$200 billion a year.

After an eight-hour session stretching into the early hours, negotiators from the United States, Japan, the European Community and Canada resumed talks yesterday morning and announced the deal shortly before the summit got under way. Under the agreement, tariffs would be eliminated on chemicals, pharmaceuticals, medical equipment, construction equipment, steel, beer, spirits, furniture and farm machinery.

The EC is a net exporter of all except medical equipment. The deal is a boost for the Scotch whisky industry which will now be able to export to Japan, for example, a bottle cheaper. There will be a reduction of up to 50 per cent in the so-called peak tariffs on ceramics, glass, textiles and clothing, and up to 33 per cent on scientific equipment, wood, paper, non-ferrous metals and electronics. British trade officials in Tokyo said the changes would particularly benefit the UK ceramics and clothing industry, which faced 30 per cent duties in America and would now be halved.

Obstacles lie ahead. President Mitterrand again made plain France's opposition to a deal that covers only market access. He wanted it to cover industrial and commercial interests, which will be the subject of new negotiations beginning in Geneva next week.

Yesterday, however, even France welcomed the deal. An official said it was positive and

prudent and went along the lines France had requested. Sir Leon Brittan, the EC's chief negotiator, said: "This is an exciting day for world trade and good news for the world economy. We have constructed a solid base upon which to build." The outcome, he said, was "substantial" and would breathe new life into the Gatt talks. "The prospects of a global Gatt deal have greatly brightened, although nothing is agreed until all is agreed."

After the marathon session of talks, Mickey Kantor, the US trade negotiator, said it was the first time in seven years that a market access package had been agreed in the Uruguay round. It had been a daunting task. "We believe the momentum we have achieved through today's breakthrough will lead to agreement in Geneva by the deadline of December 15."

Mr Kantor went out of his way to praise Japan's role. He said its announcement of its readiness to eliminate tariffs on spirits had played a big part. Other negotiators felt that the US concessions on textiles had been just as important in reaching an accord. The US negotiator said the agreement was the start of even greater tariff reductions. "We have the biggest tariff reduction in history. We will build from there. We are jump-starting the Uruguay round and boosting global growth."

Tom Holkin, Canada's international trade minister, said the deal was "a building block for a comprehensive Gatt deal by the end of the year."

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Signing off: Kijichi Miyazawa, right, the Japanese prime minister, waving to photographers outside the Akasaka state guest house in Tokyo yesterday after a night of hard bargaining over international trade tariffs. He is accompanied by President Clinton and President Mitterrand

Package to 'help spur worldwide economic growth'

FOLLOWING is an edited text of the report:

1. We believe we have within our reach a far-reaching and comprehensive market opening package on goods and services which will help spur worldwide economic growth, increase employment and strengthen our fight against protectionism.

We look toward a prompt re-engagement of the multilateral negotiating process in Geneva to be concluded by the end of this year.

Industrial goods

3. In respect of trade in industrial goods, our negotiations have focused on the liberalization of tariffs and non-tariff measures and on market-access binding commitments. We want to build upon existing market access offers contained in our draft schedules of concessions through a comprehensive and integrated approach.

4. Specifically, we intend to build on the following minimum elements to achieve an overall balanced package:

(a) Tariffs and non-tariff measure eliminations. We have thus far identified a common list of product sectors for complete elimination of tariffs and non-tariff measures (pharmaceuticals, construction equipment, medical equipment, steel, beer and subject to certain agreed exceptions, furniture, farm equipment and spirits);

(b) Harmonisation. We have identified chemical products for a harmonisation of tariffs at low rates, including, in some cases, zero.

(c) For tariffs of 15 per cent and above, we will negotiate the maximum achievable package of tariff reductions, recognising the objective of reaching 50-per cent reductions, subject to agreed exceptions.

(d) Other tariff cuts: for products other than those subject to (a) to (c) above, we will negotiate tariff cuts by an average of at least one-third.

We have also identified a number of sectors where tariffs could be reduced substantially beyond this level.

Agriculture

5. We look forward to immediate re-engagement of the multilateral negotiations to complete expeditiously the agricultural market access package, including processed products, as an essential component of... a Uruguay Round package.

Services

6. We believe that achieving a substantial package of services trade liberalisation commitments is an essential part of a global and balanced Uruguay Round outcome. It is also necessary to ensure that the new multilateral frame-

work (General Agreement on Trade and Services, or GATS) for services trade will be based on meaningful and concrete market access commitments. We note the extensive list of existing offers covering a broad range of services sectors...

7. We want to build upon existing market access offers in order to successfully complete the services negotiations. Specifically:

(a) In financial services, we made progress toward more open financial markets on the basis of liberalisation commitments. We are looking in a greater level of commitment from other participants.

(b) In basic telecommunications services, we will pursue a multilateral liberalisation within the framework of the draft GATS with the participation of other countries...

After the tiffs, architects of deal find something to shake on

FROM GEORGE BROCK
IN BRUSSELS

THE breakthrough in the negotiations may have been completed in four-sided "quadrilateral" talks, but the real architects of the deal have been transatlantic trade's odd couple: Sir Leon Brittan, the European Community's trade negotiator, and Mickey Kantor, America's trade czar.

The two men make a strange pair as they sit beside each other in the glare of press conferences in Brussels, Washington or Tokyo. The fate of the Uruguay round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade rests with Sir Leon and Mr Kantor. If Europe and America cannot agree, no one else can.

The couple's joint public appearances over the last six



Heading forward: Mickey Kantor, left, and Sir Leon Brittan, the American and European trade negotiators, sharing an aside at a news conference yesterday

months have been strained affairs. After each private tiff over tariffs or trade walls, they have usually appeared before the cameras to conceal the

nature and extent of their disagreements. But yesterday they finally had good news. Mr Kantor is wiry and lithe, with a Californian tan and a

Tennessee drawl. Sir Leon's rounder figure pays tribute to his taste for Brussels' finer restaurants and sedentary pursuits, such as listening to

opera. Sir Leon is an enthusiastic cricket fan. Mr Kantor is a baseball addict.

But they share similarities as well. They are both 53. Both are descended from Lithuanian Jewish families which travelled west: Mr Kantor's ancestors settling in Nashville and Sir Leon's in Finchley. Both men trained as lawyers, although their career paths were different. Mr Kantor began representing migrant farm workers and rose to become the senior partner of one of Los Angeles's top corporate lobbying firms. Sir Leon made a reputation as a libel barrister but left the law to enter parliament.

Both men took on the task of trying to salvage the Gatt talks at the beginning of this year. Their contrasting styles did not fit at first. Mr Kantor, close to President Clinton and equipped only with a vague brief to be more aggressive over trade disputes, was con-

ciliatory and unyielding by sudden turns. French trade negotiators, he said in an early interview, "held their breath and stamped their little feet".

Sir Leon, although handling the EC trade brief for the first time, had spent four years in Brussels before stepping into the ring with Mr Kantor. An effective European commissioner needs a grasp of political and diplomatic tactics. Europe's trade negotiator must deal with America and Japan, while preserving his majority inside the 17-member European Commission. Sir Leon's intellect and skills are respected by the French but his free-trade beliefs are deeply suspect.

For that reason alone, he is never likely to achieve his highest ambition in Brussels: to succeed Jacques Delors as president of the European Commission. But Sir Leon has rediscovered the limelight and would like to stay there.

Farm pact still the big obstacle

BY TOM WALKER
IN BRUSSELS
AND MICHAEL HORNBY

THE achievements of the G7 leaders meeting in Tokyo are just the start of a long, hard haul towards an overall deal on a new General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt).

Farm trade is still a potential stumbling block and is the missing ingredient in the Tokyo agreement. France has still not said formally that it will accept all aspects of the

AGRICULTURE

deal reached in Washington last November on farm subsidies. That envisaged, crucially, a 21 per cent cut in the volume of subsidised exports — to be phased over six years from the date the Gatt agreement comes into effect.

Last month France accepted a related American demand for a ceiling on the European Community's heavily subsidised oilseed production. President Mitterrand's signature on the G7 communiqué is presumed to mean that Paris will now quickly drop its objections to the farm subsidy cuts, but disgruntled French farmers are protesting at what they see as a climbdown.

The main concern among British farmers is that the cuts in cereal exports under Gatt may mean that production will have to be cut more sharply than is envisaged under the EC's own agricultural reforms.

Toyko wheeler-dealing lightens step of troubled statesman

FROM JOANNA FITTMAN
IN TOKYO

EVEN Japan's troubled prime minister, Kijichi Miyazawa, who will almost certainly be forced to resign after the elections in two weeks' time, skipped along to his dinner engagement last night. Disaster in Tokyo had been averted with a breakthrough on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Mr Miyazawa, 73, can now relax into the role for which he has been groomed all his working life — that of the mild-mannered Japanese states-

man, presenting Japan as the potent political power it intends to become to match its economic might.

Japanese popular interest in the Group of Seven summit, when searching for a little levity beyond the trade and macro-economic agendas, has not included the British delegation. It is not that John Major, Kenneth Clarke, the Chancellor, and Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary, lack gravitas. They just seem to have trouble measuring up to their counterparts in terms of sociable and sartorial sparkle.

Almost all eyes have been glued to the "super First Lady", Hillary Clinton. A biography of Mrs Clinton went on sale on Monday describing her as "the most powerful presidential co-leader in history" and sales of the book have been sufficiently brisk to merit a reprint.

The stature of Helmut Kohl, the German chancellor, has not shrunk since he was last in Japan. This time he has triggered much speculation among Japanese commentators that he is in fact a Sumo wrestler in

disguise. "Just take a look at that, er, exceedingly large gentleman," squeaked one reporter. "He must be well over 100kg [15 stone]."

Heinz Kohl went on an eating spree to an Italian restaurant in Tokyo's exclusive Ginza district on Tuesday. Japanese diners were amazed to see Mr Miyazawa's quantities of spaghetti, cream, bacon, cheese and eggs washed down with wine.

The French delegation is being gastronomically satiated each day at the Tokyo branch of La Tour d'Argent. The 60-odd members are

being served the house's set piece 50,000-yen (£303) menu twice a day at a bargain total price of 10,000 yen.

Tokyo residents have been sceptical about the summit security force, but it has proved to be justified. Two left-wing extremist groups launched missiles yesterday, intending to disrupt the summit and apparently protesting against the recent American air strike against Baghdad. One exploded inside the US base at Zama, west of Tokyo, creating a 4in "indentation" beneath a tree. The second exploding in a small park in Osaka, about 300 miles away.

Hurd lectures Peking on the logic of Hong Kong's democracy



Hurd said economics and power are linked

FROM JONATHAN MIRSKY
IN HONG KONG

ON HIS way to Peking to discuss the future of Hong Kong, Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary, praised two of China's current pet hates: a politically aware Hong Kong and Chris Patten, its governor.

Speaking at Singapore's Institute of Policy Studies, Mr Hurd, who tomorrow will meet Qian Qichen, his Chinese counterpart, said: "Economics and power are linked. You do not have to be a Marxist to believe that."

Having made this all-purpose observation, Mr Hurd added: "Hong Kong, like other dynamic societies is constantly evolving. With economic development has come political development." Mr Hurd cannot have forgotten that only in March Mr Qian said that Hong Kong must not become "a political city". This would only

■ Despite the foreign secretary's brave words, officials are pessimistic about making progress on Hong Kong when he visits Peking tomorrow

"leave it new troubles," Mr Qian said. Nor could Mr Hurd have been unaware that last December Lee Kuan Yew, Singapore's senior minister, embarrassed Mr Patten, who was sitting next to him, by saying that, although Hong Kong "was ready for democracy", it would be unrealistic to grant it with China next door.

Neither Mr Qian nor Mr Lee, therefore, could have derived much satisfaction from Mr Hurd's statement that it was Chris Patten himself, "with the full support of British ministers, who last year decided to meet the wishes of Hong Kong's population for further modest steps in Hong Kong's political

development. Mr Hurd's vision of Hong Kong as a political city was flatly rejected yesterday by Wang Qiren, the vice-director of the state council's Hong Kong and Macau office here, who insisted that the colony's future significance lay "in the economic realm".

The foreign secretary's words were read in yesterday's papers by many of Hong Kong's six million people who had expected that under Mr Patten they would be granted a bit of transparency about their future, but who are once more enduring the waiting game. The seventh round of the British-Chinese negotiations in Peking ended on Wednesday with as usual little

hard news, except that an eighth round will begin on July 20 and a progress report admitting that "there's been a little progress".

No official here is placing great hope on the Hurd visit to Peking, which will last less than 24 hours, of which only a few will be spent with Mr Qian, although Sir Robin McLaren, the British Ambassador to Peking who leads the British negotiating team, said on Tuesday that the foreign secretary would be bringing great authority and force to the table where Mr Hurd insisted in Singapore, he will not be negotiating but taking stock "with my counterpart".

Although, as Mr Hurd said, Mr Patten suggested the trip, the fact is that the foreign secretary, who is flying to Peking from the Gatt talks in Tokyo, was "in the neighbourhood", so the trip is not a key event. On the other hand, China's leaders do not like to expose themselves to

unproductive meetings, so there is some hope that the Hurd-Qian meeting may provide a modest breakthrough—although when Mr Hurd went to Peking in the spring of 1991 to try for a breakthrough on the stalled Hong Kong airport project, he was forced to come away empty-handed.

However, had Mr Hurd not flown to Peking while in "the neighbourhood" it would have given the impression that the negotiations were in crisis. British officials who remember the 1982-84 negotiations, which ended in the agreement to transfer Hong Kong's sovereignty to China in 1997, believe that Britain's hand may be marginally stronger today. China's economy is acknowledged in Peking to be in a grim state and there are many other social and political problems troubling the leadership as well.

In Singapore, Mr Hurd gently alluded to this. "So I would hope

that, as they chart their way forward, those planning the Chinese economy will put an even greater emphasis on receiving into Chinese sovereignty a successful Hong Kong, a thriving and self-confident Hong Kong in 1997."

An advantage for Mr Hurd will be the decline in power of the senior leader, Deng Xiaoping, who at 88 can no longer hover over the British-Chinese negotiations the way he did in 1984 when he threatened to break them off and act unilaterally. British diplomats are well aware that the Chinese do not want to be seen climbing down. Part of the art of British diplomacy, as represented by Mr Hurd, will be to reassure the Chinese that they will not be demeaned by compromise. To those in Peking who fear Hong Kong could subvert southern China, the foreign secretary stated that Britain adhered to Mr Deng's vision of "one country, two systems".

Clinton puts Asia at heart of American concerns

FROM WOLFGANG MÜNCHAU
AND JOANNA PITMAN IN TOKYO

PRESIDENT Clinton indicated yesterday that Asia, not Europe, was at the centre of American foreign and economic policy. In the keynote speech of his trip—and one of his most important foreign policy statements so far—delivered just hours ahead of the formal opening of the Group of Seven economic summit, Mr Clinton singled out Japan as America's pivotal strategic partner.

The president, echoed by his most senior executives, gave the impression that an historic change in policy was under way. The tone of his statement is likely to increase Europe's concerns that America may embrace a transatlantic alliance at the expense of the transatlantic one that has suffered a series of recent policy disagreements.

The president called for "a new Pacific community", headed jointly by America and Japan, that would embrace the entire Pacific rim and make up the world's largest and most powerful economic zone. "The time has come for America to join with Japan and others in this region to create a new Pacific community," he said.

"The new Pacific community will rest on a revived partnership between the United States and Japan, on progress toward more open economies and greater trade, and on support for democracy," he added. American officials are adamant that the new community, while driven by economics, must extend to security politics as well.

In a blunt statement of US interests, Mr Clinton, speaking at Tokyo's Waseda University, said: "Our first international economic priority must be to create a new and stronger partnership between the United States and Japan."

In an unusual display of humility, he asserted that Japan's trade surplus was not simply a question of trade barriers, but "in part simply a tribute to Japanese abilities to produce high-quality competitively priced goods and to the skill of Japanese businesses in piercing so many overseas markets, including our own". However, the president then called on Japan to cut its surplus "which has not just hurt American workers and businesses; it has hurt the Japanese people. It has deprived you as consumers of the full benefit of your hard and productive work."

Mr Clinton's direct appeal to Japanese consumers came close to being interpreted as an intervention in Japan's

elections later this month, which underlines the continued fragility of the US-Japanese relationship. One Japanese journalist concluded that Mr Clinton's call for change mirrored the position of some of the opposition parties.

In a significant softening of tone, Mr Clinton appeared in his speech to ameliorate America's hardline stance on trade. "What the United States seeks, let me make clear, is not managed trade or so-called trade by numbers, but better results from better rules of trade," he said.

While America's economic relationships with Japan have proved critical in the past few years, they have been overshadowed by sometimes bitter trade disputes. There are few doubts, either in America or Japan, however, that once the two agree on a framework to regulate their trading relationships in the medium term, the economic relationship will strengthen and deepen. American and Japanese negotiators continued difficult discussions yesterday over the framework treaty amid continuing disagreement over America's insistence on attaching "measurable targets" to trade in certain sectors. There is still some faint hope, however, that the two sides can reach an agreement before the end of this week.

All of which has gone some way to allaying Japan's fears that the primacy of the US-Japan security alliance, which has bound it to America since 1951, had begun to recede into the background, overshadowed by the increasingly acrimonious trade disputes.

Mr Clinton's speech and the comments of Warren Christopher, his Secretary of State, have been welcomed warmly by the Japanese government. Mr Christopher declared on Tuesday that there was no more important region in the world for America than Asia.

In view of the trade disputes, Japan had begun to make the reasonable assumption that the American military presence in the region, which includes 47,000 troops on Japanese soil, was likely to be considerably reduced by the end of the century. Security in the region, home to four of the world's last five communist regimes, is, however, far from stable, not least because China and Russia are both recognised nuclear powers and North Korea has nuclear ambitions.

Irwin Stelzer, page 23



Danger point: Somalis crossing the checkpoint between north and south Mogadishu. Two Somalis employed by the United Nations to distribute its daily Somali-language broadsheet, *Maanida*, were ambushed and killed yesterday on their way to

work, apparently by guerrillas of General Muhammad Farrah Aidid's militia. A third was missing. The incident was the first "punishment" killing of Somalis for co-operating with foreign troops since the multinational invasion last December

(Sam Kiley writes from Nairobi). In a separate incident, two American soldiers were injured when their position was hit by a rocket-propelled grenade fired from Mogadishu's back streets. Attacks on UN troops have been an almost daily occurrence since General Aidid fled a UN

attack on his house last month. His supporters have made clear that their targets would be UN soldiers, but the latest attack has raised fears that his militia may turn its guns on foreign aid workers.

Nigerian 'winners' back down

BY SAM KILEY
AND OUR FOREIGN STAFF

CHIEF Moshod Abiola's Social Democratic party said yesterday that it would accept an interim national government in Nigeria instead of fresh presidential elections.

A party official announced this in Abuja, the capital, after a meeting of party leaders before tomorrow's deadline from the military regime to choose between these two options. Under the government's proposal, President Babangida will appoint the interim government to organise fresh elections.

Earlier, Chief Abiola, the undeclared winner of the June 12 elections, said he rejected any proposal that prevented his immediately assuming the presidency. President Babangida annulled the election last month.

Calm returned to most of Lagos, the largest city, as hundreds of troops supported police in a security operation after two days of protest riots that left up to 24 people dead. Tanks had been deployed.

A week-long strike called by the Campaign for Democracy appeared to be cracking as workers queued for the few public buses operating.

Amnesty International report Human rights suffer setback

BY KATE ALDERSON

FOR human rights, 1992 proved to be an appalling year in Europe, the former Soviet Union and Africa, according to the latest Amnesty International report. During 1992, prisoners of conscience were held in at least 62 countries, torture was used by police in more than 110 states and 45 governments killed opponents and "troublemakers" for political reasons, the report said.

While world leaders made "fine speeches" at the United Nations Conference on Human Rights in Vienna last month, "terrible political repression continued unabated", a spokeswoman said in London yesterday.

The report is published amid speculation that Amnesty is changing course. At the UN rights conference, its secretary-general, Pierre Sanz, gave unexpected emphasis to the "indivisibility" of human rights and the interdependence of civil, social and economic rights.

In an apparent shift, he has emphasised the "right to development" and "right to industrialisation", and indicated that Amnesty will now target multinational companies, banks and the IMF.

The report said: "It is clear that governments have yet to prove that the conference will make a difference to the lives of people around the world. In country after country, human rights saw setbacks rather than improvements, and at the root of many violations was ethnic or racist division."

Conflict had brought carnage and abuses in ex-Yugoslavia and Somalia and killings and mass arrests in Egypt, Algeria and Israel. In Bosnia, "the majority of the victims were Muslims and the main perpetrators were local Serbian armed forces". Concern was expressed over the plight of refugees after agreements tightening rules for asylum-seekers were adopted by the EC in 1992, when hundreds of thousands were fleeing the horrors of Bosnia.

"In a largely unreported civil war in Tajikistan, officials estimated that 20,000 people had died by the end of 1992 and unnamed civilians were deliberately killed," Amnesty said.

Security forces and "death squads" appear to have murdered at least 3,700 people in Latin America last year and victims included "social

undesirables". Amnesty, which opposes the death penalty, also criticised the United States, where 31 people were executed last year, twice as many as in 1991. "The United States continues to be one of only six countries in the world that sentence juvenile offenders to death," it said.

In China, hundreds of prisoners of conscience were held and at least 1,000 people executed. A spokeswoman said China and Iran accounted for 82 per cent of all executions world wide. Most executions countries systematically torture detainees. Torture was widespread in several states and the death penalty was kept in every country in the region and used extensively. New information emerged about 100,000 Kurds, most of whom "disappeared" from Iraqi custody in 1988, "including the discovery of mass graves".

The United Kingdom was criticised over Northern Ireland: the report said there were frequent allegations that police and military patrols ill-treated people stopped on the streets and in detention.

Leading article, page 17

Refugees cross Serb front line

FROM TOM RHODES
IN TURKEY

MORE than 200 mainly Muslim refugees arrived at Turke yesterday, having crossed Bosnian Serb lines. Some claimed that they had been jailed for refusing to join the Bosnian Serb army.

Unlike the 750 who trudged here two weeks before, the latest arrivals were not forced to walk the final three miles across the front line. The clatter of gunfire, however, still marked the arrival of seven United Nations lorries ferrying the refugees into Muslim-held territory.

Asir Kotovic, who arrived with his wife from Banja Luka, estimated that 15,000 refugees remain in the town. He said he was arrested for refusing to join the Serb army. "I was thrown into prison for two days. The first thing I will do now is to put on the uniform of the Armija (mainly Bosnian Muslim army)."

The United Kingdom was criticised over Northern Ireland: the report said there were frequent allegations that police and military patrols ill-treated people stopped on the streets and in detention.

However, for many, the price of fleeing has become prohibitive now that the Serbs are reported to have increased the fare to the front line by DM20 (£7.90) to DM120. Those arriving yesterday said that the elderly could not afford to pay the fare.

Soon after the refugees pulled into the key town of Travnik, three artillery rounds landed in its centre, clearly reminding them that Serb positions on the Vlasica hills have the town in their sights.

□ Skopje: US aid agencies are pouring relief supplies into Macedonia in case it is drawn into the Yugoslav war. President Clinton is also dispatching peacekeepers. (Reuters)

Diary, page 16
Letters, page 17

Kravchuk joins call for Kiev to seize missiles

Moscow: President Kravchuk of Ukraine has said he supports proposals by parliament temporarily to declare former Soviet nuclear weapons on the republic's soil as national property, a volte-face that emphasises Kiev's hardening of line over the fate of the missiles and that could block the ratification of the Start I disarmament treaty (Anne McElvoy writes).

Last weekend, the parliament proclaimed some of the republic's 176 long-range missiles Ukrainian property pending their destruction, but the foreign ministry challenged the legality of the move. President Kravchuk has repeatedly called on the parliament to ratify Start I but his statement suggests that he now supports delaying tactics.

Washington has warned Kiev against such a move and hinted that its patience with the republic will be strained if it became a nuclear power.

Minister quits in Armenia

Yerevan: Vazgen Manoukian, the Armenian defence minister, has been forced to resign. The move was an attempt by the Armenian government to reassure the international community about its commitment to the Nagorno-Karabakh peace process.

He has been replaced as acting minister by General Norat Ter-Ghigisyan, a former Soviet officer and Afghan veteran. Mr Manoukian is considerably more radical than most of the government and was becoming a focus of opposition to the president, especially within the armed forces. A senior Armenian official said: "Manoukian was out of control. If you are building statehood, you have to establish state authority in all fields."

Khmer Rouge take temple

Bangkok: Khmer Rouge guerrillas scaled a 2,000ft escarpment and seized the 1,000-year-old historic and seemingly impenetrable temple of Preah Vihear on the Thai-Cambodian border after a brief battle with Cambodian government troops.

Hun Sen, one of the co-leaders of the newly elected interim Cambodian government, said in Phnom Penh that 20 government troops had been withdrawn from the temple site, dedicated to Shiva, the Hindu god of destruction and reproduction, in order to avoid damage to the sanctuary. "We did not want to see extensive fighting in the remains of the temple," he said.

Toll rises to 144

Johannesburg: The death toll in South Africa's black townships from a week of political feuding rose to at least 144. Police said ten more bodies had been found, and 12 other deaths disclosed by grieving relatives. (Reuters)

Touvier ruling

Versailles: Paul Touvier, 78, the Nazi collaborator, was placed under judicial supervision pending trial over the killing of Jewish prisoners during the second world war. He must report to the authorities every 15 days. (Reuters)

Gems restored

Nice: Police returned most of the £6.5 million in jewellery seized when Marvin Davis, a former film executive, and his wife were held up on the Riviera. Two men were arrested, police said, but some of the jewels were missing. (AP)

Florence bomb damage blots out Forster's favourite view

FROM JOHN PHILLIPS
IN ROME

THE homely pensione in Florence that inspired the E.M. Forster holiday romance *A Room with a View* will not reopen because of damage to the hotel sustained in the bombing of the Uffizi Gallery in May.

Dante Nutini, the manager of the Pensione Quisisana, said he and his sister Giovannella Nutini Marasco, 84, had decided it would take too long to restore the premises. The May 27 car bomb blew out windows, blasted away sections of walls and knocked out the telephone system. None of the guests was injured.

"To put everything straight

would require three years and we cannot wait that long," Signor Nutini said. Tourists who want to enjoy the celebrated panorama of the Basilica di San Miniato al Monte and surrounding Tuscan hills from Room 22 evidently will be obliged to watch the James Ivory film of Forster's book, which starred Julian Sands and Helena Bonham Carter.

Signora Marasco said customers from around the world had written expressing sympathy after the blast. "A lot of people who had reserved for June or July wrote begging us to keep their deposits. They all want to keep the Quisisana alive, but it is impossible," she said.

Italian newspapers yesterday

mourned the passing of the pensione that has been catering to the whims of British visitors since 1903. "The fascination of the Quisisana survived the demise of romantic ideals, the nightmare of motor traffic on the lungarni and the vulgarity of the centre invaded by snack bars," *Corriere della Sera* said. "E.M. Forster knew how to create the prototype of the English girl captivated by the beauty of Florence," the newspaper added. "And Ivory with his film knew how to re-create the fascination of a world today outraged by terrorism."

Meanwhile, Florentine authorities are struggling to rehouse scores of families

made homeless by the car bombing. An appeal by Giorgio Morales, the Socialist mayor, for landlords to make empty flats available brought only a limited response. Signor Morales this week ordered the requisition of seven empty flats owned by insurance companies to allow the victims to leave temporary accommodation.

The bomb killed five people, including a family of four, and caused extensive damage to the Uffizi. Part of the gallery reopened late last month. Investigators believe the Mafia may have carried out the attack to draw attention away from Sicily where authorities have rounded up many Cosa Nostra leaders in recent months.



Past glory: Julian Sands and Helena Bonham Carter in the film of the Forster novel

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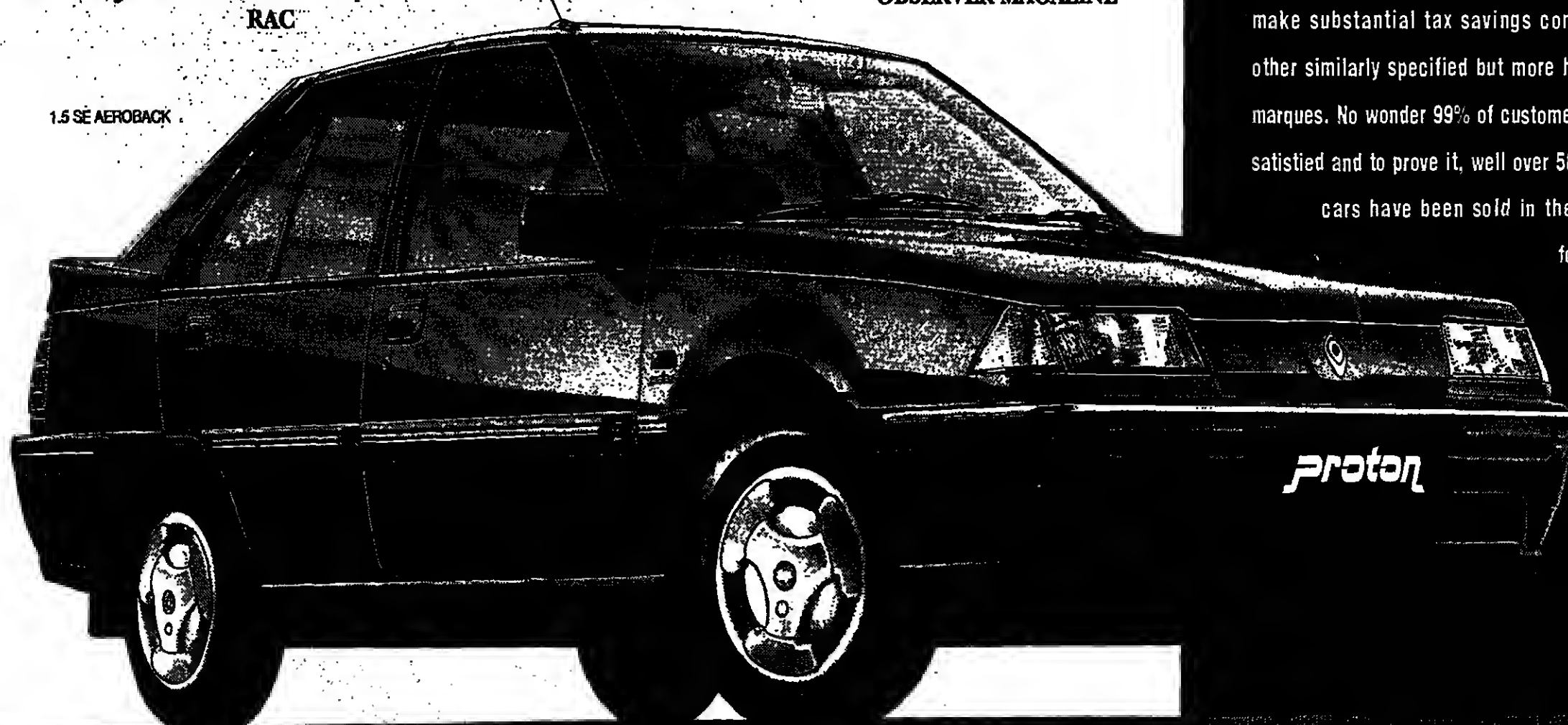
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OFFERS END 30TH SEPTEMBER 1993

In search of M Hulot's holiday

This week the French are embarking en masse on a nostalgic summer trek, says Charles Bremner

The French like taking British customs, stuffing them with a dose of national rigour and adopting them as institutions.

The next time you have to shuffle around a country café shaking hands with everyone in the room, remember that the Gallic gesture of greeting and leave-taking was imported three centuries ago by fashionable Frenchmen who were impressed by the way the *rosbifs* pumped each other's arms. Much the same applies to holidays, an idea devised by monied Englishmen in the 18th century and turned into a serious rite in France in 1936 when the socialist government decreed a fortnight's leave for all workers.

The end of the school term this week is the starting signal for the great migratory rush as city-dwelling families pile into their cars and onto trains and head for a month of the beaches or the hinterland, the venue for the "Great Holidays" which have been gaining steadily for the past decade. The French have a minimum of five weeks paid leave annually, by law. Some 65 per cent of the population will take off in July and August, 80 per cent of them to a destination in France. Once there, they will rub shoulders with many of the 60 million foreigners who drop into the country every year making it the world's number one destination.

Everyone agrees that it is ridiculous to fit the road in unison. "Don't leave" exhorted *Le Monde* tongue-in-cheek last week. "Holidays are not only lethal, they're exhausting." But no one pays attention. Why should they when everything about the ritual is codified by tradition and sanctioned by the government? By law, the main paid holiday must be taken in the summer months and cannot

be broken into segments of less than a fortnight. Factories, shops and offices close and, for those out of work, the social security tops up its holiday subsidies.

With the *full-timers* now on their way, and the more numerous *advertis* preparing their stanzas, the summer shutters are coming down, merrily as well. The government and business put off big decisions until *la rentrée*. Television and radio commercials feature only beaches and pastoral tableaux. Cartoons depict the politicians in swimsuits, and, normally sober, news magazines have begun putting naked women on their covers.

The quest for a "golden age" is what holidays are really all about.

The 40 per cent who fail to leave — mostly small farmers and the very poor — are found to suffer from a uniquely French condition: "anxiety due to failure to depart." The non-holiday goer suffers this, according to a new study, because "refusal to go on holiday is seen as an anti-social symptom as great as the refusal to work."

Watching the holiday-makers go are the holiday experts, *calculators* in hand, ready to extract sociological conclusions.

Holiday-making is now too serious a matter to be left to amateurs. Formal rules apply. The *Inspe*, the state statistics agency, insists, for example, that "tourist" is defined as "someone who spends at least 24 hours and no more than

four months away from his primary residence."

This year, the trend is to family holidays. For the first time, rented glites and holiday homes have pushed out camping and hotels as the most popular style. "In the period we are going through, the family is the most important value for the French. It makes you feel secure," says Nicole Samuel, an official of the French International Association of Sociology.

All these families are turning away from "le bronzeage" of the over-built beaches in favour of canoeing, hiking and cycling in the hills or in the brisker climes of Brittany and the more northern coasts. This is a far cry from the 1980s when the French piled onto jumbo jets and threw themselves with characteristic exaggeration at exotic destinations in the Indian ocean or South America. A television commercial, for Nescafé, was held responsible, in the late 1980s, for sending thousands of French trekking to Machu Picchu in Peru.

All that is over. The hip daily *Libération* proclaimed last weekend that *le burrowing* (summer burrowing) has taken over and everyone wants to return to their roots, real or imagined. The country is seeking the idyll of the mid-century, or at least the version as imagined through such films as *M Hulot's Holiday*, the Jacques Tati classic of 1953 set in a seaside family pension. With its nose for a trend, the Club Med company has purloined *M Hulot* for its adverts to evoke that age of black and white innocence and happy background jazz.

The quest for a "golden age" is what holidays are all about, according to *Les Vacances*, a newly published book by Andre Rauch, one of the leading experts in what might be called "holidayology." You



The way things were: the French like to head back to their roots, real or imaginary

might think you just wanted to escape work and grab some sunshine, but "the art of taking holidays" supposes a conversion in the very concept of existence," according to M. Rauch, a human sciences professor at Strasbourg University. In fact, if you are still following, you are not escaping from anything at all, but "legitimising" the very ideologies that define your working existence.

When he is not analysing the sociology and philosophy of holiday-making, M. Rauch does a useful job highlighting just how great a debt France and the world owe to the English and their climate.

The words tourist and tourism may have French roots, but they were devised by the practitioners of the Grand Tour, the jaunt around the Continent deemed *de rigueur* for young men of means in the 18th century. Touring was translated as "voyager" until the modern sense popped into French when Stendhal took it up in 1838. In the early 19th century it was *les Anglais* who turned Dieppe and other Channel ports into the Continent's first seaside resorts before moving southwards to put Nice and the Riviera on the map as more than a bunch of cholera-prone fishing towns.

At Bath, the English devised the first beach resort, setting the style for the Continent and half a century later, in 1841, Thomas Cook invented the travel agency when he took his

first 570 customers on a railway journey from Leicester to Loughborough.

The French still viewed the Alps as an unhealthy place best left to shepherds when the mad English began shunning them from Chamonix and founded the Alpine Club in 1857. *Les Colonies de Vacances* and other venues of organised youth holidays may seem the essence of Frenchness, but M. Rauch traces their ancestry to the YMCA and Lord Baden Powell, as well as to the German Wandervogel movement of the turn of the century.

With its solemn data (there are three official classes of tourist guide) and abstruse analysis ("The great unfolding in space-time of holidays disqualifies the ordinary rapport with space"), *Les Vacances* is about the last book you would think of taking on your vacation, which is just as well, because its conclusion is rather doleful. "It would be an illusion to imagine, as people used to, that the individual is free to choose his leisure activities and dreams."

Kennedy clan plot thickens

Books, TV mini-series and police investigations all keep America's ersatz royal family in the public eye

NOONE said it was easy being a Kennedy. Try to go straight and lead a clean, quiet life, and what happens? One of your relatives suddenly pops up in the scandal sheets, bringing more disapprobation on the rusting image of America's ersatz royal family.

These last weeks have not been the best for the Kennedys, with attacks coming in on four fronts. First, Mary Courtney Kennedy married acquitted Guildford Four bomber Paul Hill, presently appealing against another murder conviction. This causes Courtney's aunt, Jean Kennedy Smith, the new ambassador to Ireland, no end of embarrassment. Next, a new, unauthorised biography of Senator Edward Kennedy threatens to rake up old muck such as Chappaquiddick and new muck unknown. Meanwhile, Dominick Dunne's novel about a murder in a Kennedy-esque family called the Bradleys, lead the police to interview the author for four hours about the crime. Back in Manhattan, there is much speculation about John F. Kennedy Jr, who is leaving his job as a state prosecutor to try his hand at politics. Rumours that he will either take a job in the Clinton administration or a course at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government come as absolutely no surprise.

Not since the William Kennedy Smith rape trial two years ago has the dynasty been in such bad shape. As the clan multiplies, so the mystique starts to die.

JFK Jr is an example of the mediocrity of the new generation. Having failed the bar exam twice, he finally qualified and spent four years in the district attorney's office, during which time he was photographed a great deal with *Splash!* actress Daryl Hannah. Little was heard of his legal victories. His farewell party is tomorrow. Earlier this week, newspapers showed him in nothing but rollerblades and shorts; paparazzi shots which will surely reappear during his planned political career.

The 32-year-old, described by *People* magazine as "the sexiest man alive", refuses to discuss his new career, although he can be sure the Kennedy School of Government would be most unlikely to refuse him a place.

Ted Kennedy also appeared in his swimming trunks this week in a New York Post story cruelly captioned "Punch O'Villa: the portly Kennedy yelp bellies up to Manhattan Bay." The sight was just part of a rush of unpleasant comment surrounding the forti-

coming book *The Last Brother* — the rise and fall of Teddy Kennedy by Joe McGinness. Much work is being put into belittling the book, suggesting that since the senator himself refused to talk, Mr. McGinness had to "draw heavily" on previous Kennedy biographies and has invented private family dialogue. Despite the fuss, it is being made into a television mini-series and serialised in *Vanity Fair*.

The tragic death of Teddy Kennedy's secretary when he drove off a bridge in Chappaquiddick in 1969 will be re-examined, as well as his failed bid for the presidency in 1980 and his divorce in 1982. The final discomfort will be the rehash of the night he initiated a visit to a bar with William Kennedy Smith which eventually resulted in the celebrated rape trial.

The Kennedy clan is gearing up to support Teddy in his time of need, just as they rallied behind Rose Kennedy when Nigel Hamilton's *JFK: Reckless Youth* portrayed her marriage as disastrous, her mothering as cold, and her home as little more than a factory for turning out well-groomed but maladjusted middle-class children. Teddy and his sisters described the suggestions as "outrageous falsehoods". During the writing of the book, the Kennedys' lawyer called the author and demanded he "alter his attitude", or research would be made very difficult.

The Kennedy PR machine, which has been so successful in the past, cannot fight all fronts at once. In Dominick Dunne's new novel *A Season in Purgatory* a young man in his "Bradley" family murders a teenage girl with a baseball bat, and gets away with it in a stage-managed trial.

MR. DUNNE researched the murder of 15-year-old girl in Connecticut who was beaten to death with a golf club. At the time, police questioned Thomas Skakel, the nephew of Robert F. Kennedy's wife, Ethel, and Mr Skakel's live-in tutor Kenneth W. Lidleton Jr, but the case remained unsolved.

Mr Dunne has repeatedly claimed that investigation "is either a case of the most inept police work in history or of a rich and powerful family holding the police at bay". After interviewing Mr Dunne, police now want to talk to all 11 people who were in the house at the time — 18 years ago.

"Something is in the wind," Mr Dunne told a local newspaper. "Yet, this rich and powerful family probably has less to fear from the police than from future biographers."



KATE MUIR

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Nobs and the needle

The blueblood junkies are ruining themselves and betraying their class



Aristocratic addicts: Blandford, Tennant and Bristol

Nearly all come from broken homes. They were neglected in childhood. Education did not interest them and they left school early and unqualified. Soon they started smoking and drinking, before long they were dabbling in soft drugs. Gradually the drugs got harder. Soon they were stealing to support their habits. Friends and relatives rejected them.

They could have come from the inner cities, from the kind of estate John Redwood, the Welsh secretary, last week held up as an example of disintegrating family values. Instead they are the product of stately homes and public schools. They were born with silver spoons in their mouths, but ended up showing them up their noses.

On Monday the Marquess of Blandford, the inheritor of 4,000 Suffolk acres, an ancestral pile, Fekworth, and a £20 million fortune, escaped sentencing for possession of heroin and cocaine until he had undergone treatment at a clinic. Lord Bristol, 38 and an addict for 20 years, was described by George Carman QC, his counsel, as "sad and emotionally deprived".

Last spring the Hon Jasper Duncombe, a self-confessed drug addict and heir to Baron Feversham and a £20 million estate, was jailed for an attempted robbery committed while high on cocaine and Ecstasy. The Hon Charlie Tennant was barred from his £14 million inheritance by his father, Lord Glenconner, because he was a heroin addict.

However, their stories pale when compared with that of

the Marquess of Blandford, who over the years has probably made more appearances in courts of law than his Churchill ancestors did in courts of royalty. Over the years his misdeeds have included breaking into a chemist's shop and assaulting a policeman. He has been jailed twice, for speeding — and possessing heroin.

Why would the heir to Blenheim Palace, 11,500 Oxford acres and £100 million choose to spend his time in sordid bedsits and shady housing estates? According to Lord Blandford none of this is his fault. He is the victim of what Virginia Woolf described as "those padded lunatic asylums which are known, euphemistically, as the stately homes of England".

The problem for these tearaway toffs is that they have too much money to have to work and too little intellect to want to. Once the landed gentry was expected to produce a governing class. Now its role seems to be to provide photo-opportunities for the

addicts than lower-class ones. People say the rich take drugs because they are too privileged and the poor take them because they are underprivileged. In fact, the proportion of drug-takers is the same. The only difference is that the rich attract publicity.

"The only problem that is unique to the rich is that they have less chance of recovery," he says. "Some will go to consultants who want to take large sums of money from them and who have little real interest in curing them. They sit on a couch and say 'poor me' and the psychiatrist encourages this."

Lord Manroft says that Lord Blandford's poor-little-rich boy act is unacceptable. "He cannot say that his upbringing was abnormal. It might seem so to other people, but it was the only life he knew. There can be no excuses and no blaming. Getting off drugs is about facing up to your own responsibilities."

Not only is Lord Blandford not helping himself, he is doing the image of the aristocracy no favours. Mr Brooks-Baker says a survey of the 2,800 aristocratic families in Great Britain showed only a tiny percentage were delinquent. "But you only need one or two to make the whole system look very weak," he says. "The idea that Blandford and Bristol will sit in the Lords is disturbing for the man in the street. These people are fuelling a fire, which I predict will cause the eventual downfall of the monarchy and the peerage."

JULIA LLEWELLYN SMITH

When a baby's brain has no room to grow ... tackling an arterial killer ... dogs tarred with a feline brush

Skulls in peril

YORKSHIRE doctors are concerned at the number of babies being born in the York and Selby area who are suffering from craniosynostosis, a comparatively rare condition in which the skull, if left untreated, becomes distorted and the brain damaged.

In the first year of life a baby's brain doubles in volume. So that the increase in size may be accommodated the skull is composed of separate bones which are only loosely interlocking and are initially separated by a layer of fibrous tissue. As the brain grows bigger, so the skull shape alters and expands to accommodate it.

In craniosynostosis one or more of these joints in the skull bones, known as sutures, fuses too early and the skull size is prematurely fixed so that the brain becomes compressed, with subsequent damage to it and to the nerves leading to the eye.

In craniosynostosis the skull assumes bizarre shapes. The actual nature of the deformity depends on which of the sutures has closed prematurely, and which have compensated for this by remaining open for too long. The skull can become pointed like a dunce's cap, a condition known technically as turriophaly, or turret head; in



Other cases the skull becomes elongated from front to back, the shape being likened to the prow of a ship.

Although the number of cases in Yorkshire is disturbing, particularly as there is no explanation for them, the initial reports — which suggested that in a comparatively small area there were as many cases as in the whole of the rest of England — misrepresented the situation.

In the York-Selby area, 21 cases have recently been reported, whereas Great Ormond Street alone operates on more than 60 a year. Barry Jones, a consultant plastic surgeon at Great Ormond Street who specialises in correcting skull and facial deformities,

said that he thought that at least another 40 were seen either at Oxford or Birmingham, the two other centres which specialise in dealing with craniosynostosis deformity.

Skilled surgery can prevent the bones of the skull joining too early, and by keeping them apart allow the brain to grow without restriction and the skull to assume a normal shape. In the past, silicone was implanted between the skull bones to simulate the natural fibrous tissue, but this has proved to be of little advantage and is being abandoned.

Craniosynostosis is frequently associated with other deformities as part of a more generalised syndrome. In some cases there is also consistent congenital heart disease and in others limb abnormalities.

In more than 60 per cent of otherwise uncomplicated craniosynostosis cases there are other facial deformities directly related to the abnormal bone structure at the base of the skull, and so far as facial bones.

The facial deformities can produce a "dish" face, like that of a King Charles spaniel or peltene. Surgery when the face is deformed in this way, and breathing thereby restricted, presents special problems for the anaesthetist. As in many cases in which complex surgery is needed, the anaesthetist



MEDICAL BRIEFING
Dr Thomas Stuttford

is as important as the surgeon. Indeed, "In these cases the anaesthetist just has to be brilliant," Mr Jones says.

Fortunately, this brilliance is still available — for the time being — and none of the Great Ormond Street babies who were operated on last year died, another example of the importance of patients with rare conditions being treated in specialised units.

Adley's fate

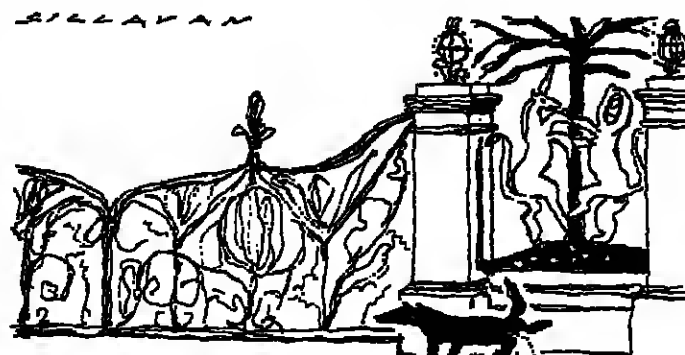


IT IS said that Robert Adley (left), whose death precipitated the Christchurch by-election, did not live to see the rail privatisation bill against which he had fought so enthusiastically. Although Mr Adley's death was sudden, he had recently undergone major surgery to relieve carotid stenosis, a severe

narrowing of the carotid artery in the neck, the artery that carries blood to the brain. The operation was a success, and Mr Adley soon regained all his characteristic good humour as he basked for his causes.

A recent review in *Mims* magazine suggests that some degree of carotid stenosis occurs in about 4 per cent of 55-year-olds, rising to 7 per cent in the over-65s. The course of the disease is variable, but with less than 75 per cent of the artery blocked the annual stroke rate is 1 per cent; if more than 75 per cent of the lumen (arterial canal) is obstructed, 3 per cent of those afflicted are likely, in any one year, to have a major stroke and 7.2 per cent suffer transient ischaemic attacks, stroke-like signs and symptoms that soon pass.

Carotid endarterectomy reduces the death-rate from strokes by approximately two-thirds but, according to recent research in the *New England Journal of Medicine*, the long-term outlook is not good. Four hundred and forty patients with severe carotid stenosis, but who were symptom-free, were followed for four years. Half had surgery coupled with the usual medicines alone. Regardless of the treatment, 40 per cent died. The principal cause of death was, as in Mr Adley's case, a coronary thrombosis.



Dogs hounded

WHATEVER the public may feel about the design of the Queen Elizabeth Gate erected to mark the lifetime of the Queen Mother, the Queen was able to smile as she inaugurated them.

The Queen had previously, almost unobserved, visited the police station in Hyde Park and, as she did so, she caught sight of one of the park's regular dogwalkers, accompanied by her usual pack of half a dozen or so dogs of very different breeds. If the Queen's smiles at the gate were diplomatic, those directed at the dogs and their minder were full of warmth.

But dog owners as a whole are outraged by the continuing confusion, not eased by a recent television programme, between toxoplasmosis, a common parasite

spread by cats and dangerous only to the immuno-compromised, or, if caught in the first weeks of pregnancy, to a developing embryo, and toxocarosis, the worm spread by dogs.

Keith Butt, a Knightsbridge veterinary surgeon, said the Queen's smiles were not misplaced. Extensive research on the soil in the royal parks, in particular Kensington Gardens and Holland Park, and similar studies on some North Country beaches, has showed the cysts of toxocara to be virtually absent.

Mr Butt advises that puppies, the principal source of worms, should be dewormed monthly, as should pregnant bitches. After stroking their pets and before eating cat owners should, of course, wash their hands and keep the cat out of the kitchen, particularly during the owner's pregnancy.

The royal gasman cometh

Once a humble anaesthetist,

Richard Gordon is now an FRCA

NEARLY 50 years ago, I sat the easy-going Diploma in Anaesthetics, an exam first set in 1935, and proudly put DA after my name. By 1948, with the founding of the Faculty of Anaesthesia in the Royal College of Surgeons, their exam was upgraded to a Fellowship. I more proudly put FFARCS after my name.

In 1988, the anaesthetists formed their own college. Even more proudly, I put after my name FRCAnae. Today, the

glimmered after chloroform was given to Queen Victoria in 1853 for the painless delivery of Prince Leopold, and parents started christening their daughters Anaesthesia.

The anaesthetist then was the amiable, despised "rag-and-bottle-man". Britain now has 20 professors, reflecting the growth of anaesthetic technology. Up the Orinoco in 1995, Sir Walter Raleigh discovered curare. This paralyses without killing.

Every operating table now bears a human who is suffering the equivalent of a direct hit from a South American Indian's blowpipe.

Venturesome surgery demands inventive anaesthetics. To the three million Britons a year who are wheeled woefully towards the operating theatre, the anaesthetist is the nice doctor in the green pyjamas (at least half are female), who pricks the hand before the ceiling shimmer and goes woom! This is the smallest part of what anaesthetists do. They are the patient's minders, electronically monitoring the heart and lungs. For more severe jobs they "live" for a patient by substituting their machinery for these organs.

How complicated it has become since my days, when the three stages of anaesthesia could be expressed as "awake, asleep and dead".

Richard Gordon is the author of the Doctor in the House novels.



Gordon recalls simpler days



Humour is the best medicine: Sgt Michael Shepley (left) and Sgt Steve Wilson, of the Cheshires, share a joke while on duty with the 7th Armoured Division in Bosnia

How the army keeps its head

Comradeship and psychiatric skill help war veterans survive trauma

When we are daily reminded of the unfolding tragedy of the Balkans and its impact on the local population and world community, the effect on our soldiers may seem to pale into insignificance. So it was right for Dr Wesley in *Body and Mind*, May 18, to ask the question: "Will soldiers returning from Bosnia need psychiatric help?" Having been the army psychiatrist in the theatre, I feel well placed to answer, and to explain what the army psychiatric services are up to.

Men have fought each other since time immemorial and their reaction to the stress of combat is well known. In psychiatric terms, this is an acute stress reaction and is reversible with rest, sleep and feeding. It is now well accepted that treatment is quite straightforward — keeping the sufferers in the military environment with their comrades and as close to their unit as feasible. Since the Arab-Israeli wars this has come to be called battle shock and officers and soldiers are taught about it in much the same way as they

are taught first aid. The aim of this training is to "normalise" the reaction to such stresses.

What is less clear is the term post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Every year at Queen Elizabeth Military Hospital we see about a hundred new cases of mainly combat-related PTSD consequent upon service in the second world war, the Falklands, the Gulf and Northern Ireland.

We find that those exposed to traumatic situations experience symptoms of PTSD such as nightmares, intrusive thoughts, jitteriness or hypervigilance. These symptoms seem to be a natural reaction and usually settle down within a few months. What is unclear is who will go on to develop full-blown PTSD. As Dr Wesley states, it seems in part a mixture of pre-existing personality and psychological health, and the severity of the trauma. A number of soldiers will have come from abusive and broken homes which have left them with feelings of vulnerability and helplessness.

Soldiers in Bosnia have witnessed women, children and the elderly being shot. They have recovered bodies which have been tortured and defiled before being shot or burnt alive. They have witnessed the plight of refugees. Each time, under the United Nations mandate, they have been unable to intervene. Soldiers are not trained to be helpless, and for some of them the sensation has dredged up hidden memories.

Historically, soldiers have, over the years of involvement in such situations, dealt with them by humour (however black), talking to colleagues and usually settle down within a few months. What is unclear is who will go on to develop full-blown PTSD. As Dr Wesley states, it seems in part a mixture of pre-existing personality and psychological health, and the severity of the trauma. A number of soldiers will have come from abusive and broken homes which have left them with feelings of vulnerability and helplessness.

One of the problems in dealing with established PTSD is the individual's tendency to withdraw into himself. It is difficult to share the experience with those who were not there. Many become alienated and withdrawn and are less likely to seek help.

It is difficult to anticipate who will get PTSD, and it does not seem morally right simply to wait and see. So we offer debriefing to those involved in traumas.

The aim of debriefing is to ensure a more healthy processing of the emotional information of the event by sharing the experience with others, especially those who were there. Ideally, this should be done by the unit or group itself, but members of the psychiatric services have the necessary skills. Too. Such work can be harrowing and daunting for non-medics and training can be given through a programme in Germany which attempts to disseminate skills in the army community. There are also standing

instructions for commanders on debriefing following incidents in Northern Ireland. And within the next six weeks a new training video on PTSD will be launched to supplement and extend existing educational material.

There is always a risk that psychiatrists may be seen to be "medicalising" traumatic experiences but it is our aim to normalise the experience and encourage the sharing of emotions.

There is, of course, plenty of informal debriefing among soldiers themselves. This is encouraged and the benefits of the army community are at their best in these situations: be it platoon, company or regiment. To this end it is now standard policy for there to be a wind-down period back in base before leave is taken.

Exit from today's duty or battlefield can be very rapid and can lead to a surreal experience: one minute a soldier is suffering the hardships of conflict, the next sitting in a pub with his family and friends.

Unlike psychiatry in the NHS, we have the advantage of being an occupational service and are integrated into the administrative and medical support of the army. We are thus involved with education and prevention as well as simply responding to the problems when they arise.

Almost to a man, our PTSD cases at Queen Elizabeth hospital have somehow missed out on debriefing. They all regretted this and we aim to prevent such oversights in future.

We have a broad understanding and agreement on how to diagnose and treat battle shock. Post-traumatic stress disorder is, however, much more complicated.

We are guided by the old saying that prevention is better than cure and we hope that through education and debriefing we will if not prevent, then at least mitigate, aspects of PTSD which once established is a most invidious and difficult condition to treat.

Major Palmer is the senior specialist in psychiatry at the Queen Elizabeth Military Hospital, Woolwich, London SE18

My mother made me a homosexual," runs the old joke. Pretty soon, if Dr Simon LeVay has his way, the medial preoptic region of the hypothalamus is going to have to take the blame — or the credit, depending how you see it.

It lacks the punch of the original, admittedly. And when LeVay, then associate professor at the Salk Institute in California, first proposed the idea a couple of years ago, some gay people were alarmed. If a biological cause had been found for sexual orientation, how long would it be before somebody suggested a cure?

Dr LeVay, himself gay, has now written a book, *The Sexual Brain*. In it he argues persuasively that most of the explanations provided in the past for homosexuality are

Is homosexuality all in the brain?

A doctor claims that the hunt for a mystery gene could lead to pre-birth screening of the womb for gay babies

pretty unconvincing. Freud was responsible for the one that is now part of most people's mental furniture: the idea that homosexual men suffer a form of arrested sexual development as a result of never having broken the bonds with their mothers. Studies of twins suggest that there is rather more to it than that. Homosexuality runs in families, an observation that in itself does not rule out Freud's beliefs. A mother who made one son a homosexual could do the same for another.

But having a gay identical twin increases your own chances of being gay by between 50 and 65 per cent, while in non-identical twins

the increased chance is only 25-30 per cent.

Identical twins, of course, share all the same genes, so the twin studies do suggest an underlying biological mechanism. It may not be the whole answer, but Dr LeVay confidently expects that the search for the "gay gene" now being conducted in the United States will be successful within the next few years.

His confidence is based on the results of his own research, which showed a clear difference in the brains of gay and straight men. The

differences lie in the hypothalamus, a small region at the base of the brain. Towards the front of the hypothalamus lies the medial preoptic area. When this area is damaged in male animals, there is a reduction in normal sexual behaviour, and the animals behave in ways

more typical of females. Dr LeVay studied this region of the brain in AIDS patients, both gays and heterosexuals, who had acquired the disease through drug abuse, and heterosexuals of both sexes who had died of other causes. In one location in the medial preoptic area he found a group of neurons that differed significantly in the different groups.

This area, called INAH 3 (for interstitial nuclei of the anterior hypothalamus) is on average two to three times bigger in heterosexual men

than it is in women. In gay men, INAH 3 is the same size as in women — that is, far smaller than in heterosexual men.

Finding this discrepancy in adults does not necessarily mean that it has been present from birth, though animal experiments suggest that it has. Since Dr LeVay's experiments were published, another anatomical difference has been found, by Laura Allen and Roger Gorski, at the University of California in Los Angeles.

They discovered that a structure connecting the left and right sides of the cortex, the anterior commissure, known to be larger in women than in men, is also larger in

gay men. As in Dr LeVay's own work, the evidence was that gay men were closer to women than to straight men in this particular respect.

These differences most likely arise as a result of varying levels of hormones in the womb or — in Dr LeVay's opinion — in genetic differences that make the brains of some foetuses react differently to the same hormone levels. At least three laboratories in the US are now hunting for these genes.

Success (if the gene does exist) would set any number of different hares running. For example, it would then be possible to screen for the gene before birth, giving an indication of whether a foetus was likely to become gay.

NIGEL HAWKES
The Sexual Brain by Simon LeVay (MIT Press, £14.95)

New Book Reveals How To Get ARTHRITIS RELIEF

If you suffer from arthritis, you should know about a new book *The Complete Arthritis Handbook*. This book contains the latest up-to-date information on arthritis, including the newest natural and medical treatments, what really works. Here are a few facts covered in the book.

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Janet Daley



■ Miscarriages of justice have spawned a procedural lobby which pays little heed to questions of guilt

The furore over jury trials in the Runciman report has kicked up so much dust that the cloud has quite obscured a debate which deserves more attention. The right to trial by jury may be a theme which captures popular imagination, having as it does such a colourful and easily grasped place in our legal culture. But there is a point of dispute between the majority of the commission and its dissenting member, Professor Michael Zander, which illuminates much more clearly the dissatisfaction of the populace with the justice system.

It is important to note that this dissatisfaction takes a number of forms: a specialised minority are deeply (indeed, quasi-professionally) concerned about a series of miscarriages of justice in which apparently innocent people have been wrongly convicted; a larger minority are mildly disturbed by these cases, mainly insofar as they seem to cast a pall over the trustworthiness of the police and the courts, and a majority are both offended and frightened by the failure of the system to apprehend, prosecute, convict and then properly punish the sort of hoodlums who threaten their own security.

Guilt or innocence is thought secondary to rules of evidence

Now the point that I wish to examine—as opposed to the ones which have received inordinate attention in the media thus far—has the virtue that it sheds light on all these forms of dissatisfaction because it gets to the heart of a profound misunderstanding in the layman's idea of what the criminal justice system is about. The Runciman report recommends that in future, if there is sufficient sound evidence for a conviction, then even the most serious misconduct by the prosecution should not result in that conviction being quashed. In other words, if some of the prosecution evidence in a trial turns out to be faulty or acquired by illegitimate means but there was sufficient other evidence to prove guilt beyond reasonable doubt, then the verdict should stand.

Many people will be surprised to learn that this is not part of the law already, so full of common sense does it seem. There ought of course to be sanctions against prosecutors who behave badly, but when this has no bearing on the guilt of the offender, why should he be let off? But help with the conundrum is at hand. Professor Zander, in his objection to this proposal, provides a succinct and elegant exposition of the law as it stands: "The moral foundation of the criminal justice system requires that if the prosecution has employed foul means, the defendant must go free even though he is plainly guilty."

What do these carefully chosen words tell us about the basis of our system for arresting, prosecuting and detaining alleged criminals? That the law is about something above and beyond questions of actual guilt or innocence. The establishing of guilt and all those things that follow from it in terms of containing offenders and protecting the population from further offences are secondary to the propriety of legal procedure. Not that this propriety is a trivial matter: the integrity of the law must be regarded as sacred in any civilised society and the strictest safeguards must be erected to protect individuals from corrupt or malign prosecution.

But for the law (in the person of Professor Zander) to say that a conviction should be quashed even when the convicted person "is plainly guilty" does more than this. It suggests that the verdict of guilty was undeserved, not by the defendant (who explicitly did deserve it), but by the prosecution: that it was a prize which should not have been awarded because the prosecutor did not play by the rules. For failing to uphold the principles of just process, the prosecutor is to be publicly disgraced by losing his trophy. Unfortunately, in the process, a criminal may be turned out on to the streets to do his worst.

This principle arises directly from the adversarial justice system in which opposing counsel must concentrate on the contest for a verdict rather than on establishing what has actually happened in a criminal case. The defence and prosecution are pitted against one another in a game with rules so arcane that even experienced counsel may fall foul of them. Increasingly in recent years, the contest has been weighted in favour of the defence. By recommending that the defence case be shown to the prosecution—the reverse is already required—Runciman tries to restore the balance. But the elimination of this secrecy only nods in the direction of a court's right to carry out a disinterested inquiry into the real issue of guilt or innocence.

The public suspects that some victims of miscarriages of justice are being let off "on technicalities", or that the system is creating hurdles for prosecutors which drive them to take illicit shortcuts. It is bemused by the alacrity with which the innocent may be locked up while real criminals run rings around the law. Ordinary people think that the courts exist to punish wrong-doing, that justice means reaching accurate verdicts, not rewarding the lawyers who most skillfully avoid giving concessions to the enemy. If they are wrong in this, then someone should explain why.



BREAKTHROUGH

More wealth to go round

The Tokyo endorsement of free trade means greater prosperity and stability

Nobody had been expecting much to come of the G7 meeting in Tokyo. Recent meetings of the prime ministers and presidents have been disappointing, and have certainly failed to produce an international response to the world recession. All the heads of government are unpopular in their own countries, and the prime minister of Japan has already lost a vote of confidence and faces an immediate general election. Most of the G7 countries are suffering from high and rising unemployment, which usually makes governments more protectionist.

The agreement on tariffs on manufactures has therefore come as something of a surprise, and the first reaction will be to look for the catch in it. The first catch, of course, is that it is a G7 agreement and not a full concord under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. It is still conditional upon acceptance by the rest of the Gatt members. As President Mitterrand has rather sourly observed, the place to negotiate a Gatt agreement is Geneva. The second catch is that it covers manufactures but not invisibles or agriculture. The French peasants still have to be heard from—or rather they will be heard from again.

Nevertheless, the Tokyo achievement is remarkable enough. This provisional agreement eliminates tariffs on a wide group of manufactured goods, and halves them on a further, particularly sensitive, group. It was pleasant to see the face of Sir Leon Brittan as the European commissioner at the negotiating table. He may be suspected in Europe of being a classic Adam Smith free-trader, and he seemed well content with what is a classic victory for free trade. At the very least, it is a defeat for the protectionism which had seemed to be gathering strength in the world, and a vindication of the free-trade sympathies of President Clinton, which had been doubted.

Free trade is more important now than it has ever been. The early 1990s are in some ways like the early 1930s, although no two periods of history are ever exactly the same. The modern world is still passing through a prolonged recession, now at its most severe in continental Europe, with weak recoveries in the United States and Britain. In the 1930s there was a worldwide movement to raise tariffs, which led to a sharp fall in world trade; it turned the recession into a depression, and the depression

into a slump. The Tokyo agreement, provided it is honoured in the Gatt negotiations, guarantees that there will be no comparable reduction in world trade this time. Protectionism could have been even more disastrous in the 1990s than it was in the 1930s. The greatest difference between that period and the present is the acceleration of change. Any economy which falls behind has always been severely damaged, but that process now occurs much faster than it used to. The damage that protectionism does to industries shielded by tariffs is that it removes world competition. This has the effect of allowing the protected economy to operate below the world levels of efficiency which open competition would enforce.

The acceleration of change can be shown in many ways in industrial markets, in technology, in development and so on. The example of Japan is a good one. Between 1960 and 1985, Japan moved from being a developing country recovering from the war to being the world's most competitive economy. The United States had perhaps made the same progress in the period from 1825 to 1925, a period four times as long. Most of the Asian developing countries are changing faster than Japan. The world economy can only absorb this accelerating change through the rapid adjustment of a free world trade system.

The danger was that the pace and scale of change would build a constituency for raising tariffs rather than reducing them. There were signs of this, particularly in Europe, but also in the United States, where the trade unions are a big protectionist lobby, allied to the Democrats. The Tokyo agreement is of historic importance because it seems to show that even weak and unpopular governments still have the political strength to move in the opposite direction to these pressures.

Nevertheless, the changes in the world will still be very difficult to handle, particularly in the European Community and the United States. employing West German labour will have fallen to a level which genuinely reflects the German advantage in competition with Russians or Chinese. No one can tell what that premium will be, perhaps German labour will still be worth twice as much as Chinese. If that adjustment is made in a free-trade system—as Tokyo promises—then many manufacturers which are now made in Germany will then be made in Russia or China. But German industry will have adapted to maximise its own areas of real advantage. If Europe opens for protection, the process will initially be delayed, but eventually will be catastrophic.

This is the heart of the issue of free trade. By the year 2010 or thereabouts, the premium for employing West German labour will have fallen to a level which genuinely reflects the German advantage in competition with Russians or Chinese. No one can tell what that premium will be, perhaps German labour will still be worth twice as much as Chinese. If that adjustment is made in a free-trade system—as Tokyo promises—then many manufacturers which are now made in Germany will then be made in Russia or China. But German industry will have adapted to maximise its own areas of real advantage. If Europe opens for protection, the process will initially be delayed, but eventually will be catastrophic.

The catastrophe of protectionism in the 1930s extended not only to the damage that was done to individual industries, or even to world trade and the world economy. It played its part in the general development of nationalism which supported Fascist and Nazi parties and led to the second world war. There is a basic moral choice between protectionism and free trade: the one incites people to protect themselves at the expense of other countries, the other enables nations to collaborate in raising prosperity. The classical advocates of free trade believed that it would strengthen peace as well as prosper-

ity, and that protectionism could lead to war as well as poverty. Tokyo is encouraging because it shows a revival of the spirit of national co-operation to strengthen the world economy.

Since Adam Smith published *The Wealth of Nations* in 1776, the arguments against tariffs and in favour of work being done where it can best be done have been well understood. Yet in his time, the adjustments that had to be made were relatively long-term. The discipline of free trade has become much more urgent, and the psychological impact of free trade is correspondingly greater. The G7 leaders in Tokyo have taken a decision that their nations will face reality, rather than try to evade it or hide from it. That is as healthy for a nation or an industry as it is for an individual. Of course we are all still allowing the exception that everyone must face reality except those employed in agriculture, from the French peasants to the Japanese rice-growers.

For Europe, the reality will be tough. We have to compete with two billion Asians who start from a much lower standard of living. We have to abandon a cherished belief that there is some inbuilt economic advantage in being European. There is certainly no such advantage any longer. Both the Japanese and the Hong Kong Chinese have overtaken the British in both income per head and average life expectancy. The EC will be entirely dependent upon its own efforts if it is to be competitive, just like everybody else. If we save as much, invest as much, have educational standards as high and work as hard as the people of Hong Kong, we shall have as high a standard of living as Hong Kong. If not, it will be no use complaining.

This is why the Tokyo meeting is so important. This was the day when, and the place where, one might have expected the world's leaders to avoid the issue. After all, free trade means rapid rather than slow adjustment, and the loss of some industrial security, matched by opportunities elsewhere. It would have been easy and attractive to pull up the bedclothes and hope that the great historic shift to the development of Asia would be postponed. It is to everyone's credit—and perhaps particularly to Sir Leon—that Tokyo has moved a world in recession along a narrow and painful path of virtue.

Why the left still staggers

Socialist papers

have no sting, says

Anthony Howard

It is a sound rule of life that politicians should think twice before suing. Certainly when John Major rashly issued his writ for libel against the *New Statesman* last January, he unwittingly did the paper a good turn. There the old "Staggers" was, looking as if it might perish from old age and anaemia—it passed the milestone of its 80th birthday three months ago—when along came the prime minister to deliver a massive blood transfusion.

The rights and wrongs of his now settled libel action need not concern us here. What matters is the impression created that somehow a small, left-wing magazine has contrived to face down all the wrath and authority of Downing Street. In claiming a "moral victory" the *NS's* 11th editor, Steve Platt, may have been pushing matters a bit, but even the BBC was conceding yesterday that the legal match had been fought to "a draw".

The *NS* can be expected to make the most of its role as David in relation to Goliath. The fact that its readers have already raised £100,000 on its behalf must also serve as a welcome reassurance to its staff that it still has a hold on a constituency out there somewhere.

The past 20 years have not been kind to the reputation and standing of what was once easily the country's most influential political weekly. Even in the circulation battle it has over the past decade decisively lost out to its traditional rival, the *Spectator*—backed as the latter is fortunate enough to be by all the might and wealth of Conrad Black and the *Telegraph* empire. With rumours of takeovers regularly swirling over its head, the *NS's* own finances have for years been in a parlous state too: its carefully husbanded reserves are long gone.

More to the point, it had risked—at least until the prime minister obligingly put it back centre stage—looking like just another fringe journal totally irrelevant to the political process. The *NS's* relationship with the Labour party has never, of course, been an easy one: even at the great Labour victory celebration of 1945, Ernest Bevin is said to have welcomed the paper's most illustrious editor, Kingsley Martin, with the greeting: "Hello, glory—I give you six weeks before you stab us in the back." And there can be no doubt that while the paper still mattered, Labour chiefs always tended to regard it as a thorn in their side.

But at least they felt the thorn, and it may be that on occasion it served as a goad. It is a long time since the *NS* has done that—but why? The answer, I fancy, has to be that in the days of its glory, the *NS* was traditionally a paper of ideas, and as the ideological content of Labour's appeal has diminished, so has the influence of the paper that used to be its missionary outpost to the middle and professional classes. (The *NS*, after all, was founded by Fabians, and in tune it remained a Fabian paper until under its 10th editor, Stuart Weir, it got carried away into the cloud-cuckoo-land of Charter 88 and proportional representation.)

To be fair, in the past year or two, it has shown signs of rowing back into the political mainstream, but the question of its function can never be solved until the left in this country begins to wrest back the intellectual initiative from the right. Maybe I say that with particular feeling. If one moment haunts me from my own time as editor, it is the time of the IMF cuts in 1976-7. I recall wondering as Jim Callaghan proceeded to slash and slash again at public expenditure, what on earth in intellectual terms now distinguished the socialist camp from the Tory one. Even in the days of John Smith, the *New Statesman* would greatly benefit from finding an answer to this question.

Chequered career

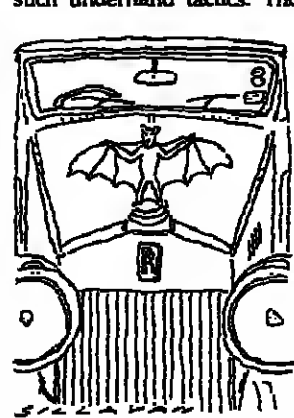
ALAN CLARK is clearly as ruthless behind the wheel of his vintage Rolls-Royce as he is in front of the blank pages of a diary. For it is the maverick former minister, accompanied by his long-suffering wife Jane, who powered across the finishing line of this week's Alpine Car Rally to take the chequered flag.

It was the sort of performance that Terry-Thomas, rakish star of the film *Monte Carlo or Bust*, might have been proud of. As indeed he might of Clark's distinctly caddish vehicle: a 1919 Silver Shadow which, thanks to a mispent youth in the RAF, bears a bat on its radiator rather than the traditional Flying Lady. Inevitably Clark was quickly dubbed the Black Baron by fellow drivers.

It is a monkey he did his best to live up to. Certainly in his determination to cross at least one finishing line first, Clark—who in his *Diaries* refers frequently to high-speed driving up and down motorways—cut not just corners, but at least two civic recep-

tions. Never one for official gatherings at the best of times, he simply omitted to go to the receptions in Vienna on the last day, held in honour of the returning Rollers, which began the race in the city two weeks earlier.

So as the other drivers quaffed wine with local dignitaries, the dastardly Clark was motoring relentlessly on towards the finishing line and his brief moment of glory. And brief it was—for the scrutineers soon took exception to such underhand tactics. The



only laurels Clark will be resting on are those of an author.

Some total!

A PONY or a monkey we know about. A Desmond or Douglas we are getting used to—by degrees. But what shall we call the £1,001 paid into court by the *New Statesman* in defence of its now notorious libel action. Will it be a "Major"? Or a "Latimer"? Or—as one top libel lawyer suggested somewhat surreally yesterday—"a cold quiche?"

It appears that the sum was chosen to second-guess the jury, had the case gone to court. If a round-figure-loving jury had awarded Major damages of a £1,000 or less, he would have had to pay both his and the magazine's costs from the date the money was offered. Yet, despite its paltry size, this is far from being the smallest sum ever offered. According to one top libel barrister, "if you are very sure of your ground, you might offer £1. Likewise it is not uncommon for less confident defendants to offer as much as £100,000"—known in the trade as a Koo or an Elton.



DIARY

Twin towns?

ACCORDING to a recent survey, most schoolchildren believe Jacques Delors is the editor of *The Sun*. Teenagers in John Major's constituency appear to be little better informed. A party of musicians from St Peter's Comprehensive School, Huntingdon, is going to Maastricht for a six-day concert tour later this month.

But when the pupils were told where they were going most of them asked: "Where?" Mike Lynch, head of music at the school, says: "It is true that most of them don't know much about it. They certainly never knew that the prime minister's future hinged on it, and knew even less about the treaty."

This will disappoint the prime minister, who was so

delighted the school had chosen Maastricht for its summer tour that he sent a warm congratulatory letter. Now, before they set off, the youngsters will be given a crash course in federalism, subsidiarity and the single currency. Sounds more like detention.

Monkey business

IT SEEMS an odd thing to squabble over, but Hartlepool and Greenock are fighting over which town's inhabitants hanged monkeys in the 18th century. Until this week it was the stuff of proud local legend, at least in Hartlepool, that at the start of the Napoleonic wars, Hartlepool folk lynched a French infiltrator, only to find that their victim was a unfortunate monkey.

Imagine Hartlepool's annoyance, then, when the mag-

azine *Scottish Memories* this week reported that in 1760—30 years earlier—the people of Greenock tried and hanged a monkey, believing it to be a French sailor. Brian Smith, Hartlepool's mayor, splutters: "I don't know how the Scots can come up with this now, when everyone knows the monkey-hanging legend has been part of Hartlepool's heritage for centuries."

Scottish Memories stands by its story. "They ought to know there are similar stories all over the country—in Cornwall, East Fife and elsewhere in Scotland."

● This month's NUS Journal reports that at last month's National Union of Students' lesbian, gay and bisexual conference at Cardiff University, a motion was passed on "body oppression, and in particular the oppression of fat people". The policy was passed mainly due to an enthusiastic speech by its proposer, NUS National Secretary, Iain Pigg.

I and I
ACTORS, eh? Patricia Hodge and Peter Bowles, who share top billing in the revival of

Terence Rattigan's *Separate Tables* at the West End's Albery Theatre, have been equally keen to stress their equality off-stage as well.

Their dressing rooms, which face each other across a corridor, are both numbered 1. Before they took up residence this week, the doors were numbered 1 and 1a. Bill Kenwright, the play's producer, stresses this has nothing to do with ego. "Peter Bowles is an absolute gentleman and Patricia is wonderful. On tour they took turns to share the number one dressing room. It is all very civilised."

Hall of fame

THE National Trust is to become the proud owner of an item or two of our more recent heritage. Jerry Hall, the languid Texan model, is planning to donate some catwalk couture to the Trust's costume archive at Killerton House.

Hall's modish dresses will join bodices and bustles of a by-gone age in the Trust's 5,000-piece archive, when she journeys with them to Killerton in Devon later this month. Atherton, Harrison, the curator, says: "One is offered a



great deal which is run-of-the-mill from Harrods or Bond Street, but to get real French or English couturier work is wonderful."

One of the items suggests that Hall's contributions will at least be in good condition. It is the suit she wore in the ill-fated West End play *Bus Stop*, which closed after a run of less than two months.



BREAKTHROUGH IN TOKYO

The summit leaders must now stick to their words

The much criticised global publicity surrounding G7 summits must be made an asset now. At Tokyo, the leaders of the industrialised countries have taken a decisive step away from protectionism. Because they have done so before the glare of so many cameras, there are better grounds for hoping that the hard-won promises will be kept.

The way is not yet wholly clear for the great surge in trade-led growth which would bring prosperity to millions. The Gatt's Uruguay Round, the most ambitious ever attempt to liberalise world trade and strengthen the rules under which it operates, works as a package: nothing is agreed until everything is finally agreed, and some formidable obstacles remain. But in Tokyo, the Group of Seven has cut the key that should, after more than seven years of frustration, finally open the door.

Whatever else the summiters may decide about stimulating growth and jobs, a trade deal is cardinal. Across the G7, no fewer than 23 million jobs depend on merchandise exports; and the importance of export-led growth for the 26 million out of work cannot be over-emphasised. For once, the euphoric talk in Tokyo of creating 1.4 million new jobs in America, and a quarter of a million in Britain, within a decade was not just whistling in the dark. The dry technical language in which this breakthrough is couched should not obscure its significance.

What was needed from this summit was not just a general endorsement of free trade principles by the politicians, but a solid offer, made by the countries which together account for half of global income and provide markets for half the developing world's exports, to liberate trade in manufactured goods. This was indispensable to a deal on trade in services, which the Uruguay Round would, along with agriculture, bring into the Gatt for the first time.

In the "quadrilateral" negotiations concluded just before the summit's formal opening, the EC, America, Japan and Canada have now agreed to put on the Gatt table offers to eliminate all tariff and non-tariff barriers in eight sectors — pharmaceuticals, medical equipment, construction equipment, steel, farm equipment, furniture,

beer and distilled spirits — together with a joint commitment to expand the list. This is huge gain for the EC, which is a net exporter in all except medical equipment. Tariffs will also be cut by at least a third to a half in another ten areas — including textiles.

John Major may have exaggerated slightly in saying that 85 percent of a possible GATT agreement was now in place, but provided all members of the G7 adhere to yesterday's ambitious package, they will have justified their claims to global leadership. There may be sniping by France, particularly in farm trade. To avoid isolation in Tokyo, the French chose to describe the deal reached as "procedural" and therefore acceptable. But the country is going through one of its periodic bouts of anti-Americanism, neurosis about its declining competitiveness, terror of its unruly farmers and flirtation with what President Mitterrand calls *préférence Européenne*, best translated as rank protectionism on an EC scale.

France, however, would gain enormously from a global agreement, not least in services where its exports rank third worldwide. Its EC partners, Britain and Germany in particular, have leverage to ensure that Paris sees its proper interest. For Gatt to fail now would not only be an economic disaster, but would place in jeopardy France's much-prized investment in the "construction of Europe".

The other main peril lies in Washington. In Tokyo, President Clinton unequivocally committed himself to the success of the Round, but at home, he has to contend with a new, widespread contempt for the multi-lateral trade rules which have served America and the world so well since the second world war. If Congress, obsessed by the Japanese trade surplus and convinced that only America has the power to bring Tokyo to heel, insists on retaining the Section 301 law which provides for unilateral trade sanctions, other countries will refuse to ratify the accord. This is no moment for the Atlantic to be widening, as it has since Mr Clinton took office. Rebuilding the transatlantic relationship should be a priority for many reasons: the wealth of nations is by no means the least important.

A FIGHT FOR LABOUR'S SOUL

Mr Smith should not compromise on party democracy

Labour has enjoyed a fortnight of merry-making over exotic donations to Tory party coffers. Now comes the hangover: John Smith has to turn to his own paymasters, the trade unions, and explain why their money should no longer buy block votes. The union with the greatest clout, the Transport and General Workers Union, is set today to reject Mr Smith's proposals to weaken union power over the party.

Union leaders and their allies argue, with some justice, that Labour is historically the invention and political mouthpiece of the trade union movement. As they pay the piper, ask the union barons, why should they not call the tune? Mr Smith in turn has the problem of explaining to voters why a contribution from Asif Nadir to Conservative Central Office buys nothing, not even a peerage, while a hefty donation from the unions purchases a say in the selection of a Labour leader, a voice at party conference and, most important of all, influence over the selection of parliamentary candidates.

Past Labour leaders could defend the system on the grounds that unionised manual workers represented an overwhelming constituency in the country and formed Labour's bedrock of support. That defence is now dead. Only a third of the labour-force today is unionised and by no means all unionised workers vote Labour. Goaded by his young Turks, Tony Blair and Gordon Brown, and his ageing Turk, Neil Kinnock, Mr Smith settled on the simple democratic formula of one man one vote (OMOV) for all internal Labour party elections.

Mr Smith would have been wise to push

for OMOV as soon as he became party leader after the last election, when Labour morale was at its lowest, and the unions at their most tractable. But he is by temperament a cautious, decent man who cut his political teeth during the years of civil warfare in the Labour party. Mr Smith does not welcome internal party bickering. After his retreat on such obvious reforms as abandoning the Clause 4 constitutional commitment to nationalisation, he may now fudge yet another deal with the unions over OMOV rather than face humiliation at their hands. At Labour's party conference in September, some of his advisers believe such a reverse would snatch defeat from the jaws of victory at a time when the Government is intent on self-slaughter.

These "friends" are wrong. Mr Smith once promised to create a new model Labour party. He should follow the precedent of Hugh Gaitskill over nuclear disarmament and "fight, fight and fight again" by backing the fullest internal democracy. The country would then truly believe his commitment that Labour was no longer content to be written off as a sectional interest. His poor personal standing in the polls would be surely improved. Even his Conservative critics, after the first day of predictable bad headlines, would be forced to raise at least two cheers for his courage. Mr Smith still needs to prove his faith in the individual rather than the collective. He must win back voters disillusioned with Labour's inability to modernise itself. He cannot count on being handed office by the Tories. Mr Smith must come out of his corner fast.

THE EAGLET AND THE TRUMPETS

Some juvenilia are more than merely juvenile

Most youthful writings are of interest to the writers and their proud parents only; they should be committed to the family scrapbook or the recycling plant as soon as decently possible. The 40 early and unpublished poems by T.S. Eliot, whose publication we reported yesterday, may be judged differently.

This is not because of a delusion that everything written by a subsequently great author must be interesting. That is an enthusiasm that flutters in the academic hen-house of American universities and fanzine publishers. It treats literature as fanzine. The prolix *oeuvre* of the grain-pecking, young Shelley is verbose rant. James Joyce's examination papers are as boring as most such productions. The recent exhaustive publication of every blot and scribble of the apprentice works of Bernard Shaw and John Galsworthy, Philip Larkin, Samuel Beckett and Umberto Eco confirm that they should have been left in peace.

Some writers are so unfathomable that anything new from them would be illuminating. Any unwilling schoolboy essays by Shakespeare would find a publisher, and by Marlowe's childish *Didio* the rumble of coming thunder can be heard. With some writers the seed of future talent can be detected in their first shots. Jane Austen's

infant stories show her sarcasm before life ripened it into irony. Romantics, such as Wordsworth and Coleridge, wrote best when young, before they became pompous old bodes. Auden's poems at school and Oxford, to be published next year, show him thrashing around to find his unmistakable poetic voice. And Keats, who died aged 26, wrote nothing but juvenilia.

Eliot is a peculiarly complex and artificial poet of time past and time future. His painful evolution is worth tracking by any means. Two-thirds of his original version of *The Waste Land* was deleted on the advice of Ezra Pound, and published only 20 years ago — fruitfully so because it showed the dislocated birth of the Age of Anxiety's epic. Artists are not always the best critics of their own work. Virgil and Kafka left express instructions that their masterpieces should be destroyed. Mercifully, their literary executors ignored their wishes. Eliot, one of the most memorable voices of this century, was also extraordinarily self-conscious about his work. As he wrote in the epigraph to his *Letters*: "We want to confess ourselves in writing to a few friends, and we do not always want to feel that no one but those friends will ever read what we have written." His juvenilia will show that most precious metamorphosis, the birth of a poet.

Military and political options for a Bosnia solution

From Professor Adrian Hastings

Sir, It is now exactly a year since Unprofor (the United Nations Protection Force) arrived in Sarajevo — a year in which its inhabitants have been ceaselessly bombarded, and Unprofor has not once strayed beyond its brief in a matter of days. This scandal cannot last much longer.

Sarajevo could be rescued from its plight in a matter of days if Nato bombed its tormentors. It could be rescued in a matter of weeks if the arms embargo were lifted and its government provided with adequate weaponry to protect Bosnians from the heavy artillery of an illegal movement comparable to the IRA, though far worse in what it has done.

But, if neither happens very soon, Sarajevo will fall, its inhabitants will be dead or refugees in Turkey, and Bosnia will be no more. That is the precise goal to which President Milošević and Dr Karadžić are committed.

It is Mr Hurd and the British government who remain chiefly responsible for maintaining an arms embargo which the vast majority of members of the UN, and six of the Security Council, have voted to raise. The embargo is against both equity and common sense. Force will be stopped only by force or the threat of force.

When, at the end of April, President Clinton made a credible threat to bomb the Serbs and raise the arms embargo, Milošević at once altered his position. Unfortunately, Lord Owen took credit to his own diplomacy for the shift and denounced both the threat and the raising of the embargo. Mr Hurd did the same.

At the end of May, Clinton drew back and, together with Hurd, produced the quite meaningless Washington plan. At once Milošević returned to open support for Karadžić and the war went on.

As soon as the business of Bosnia is over, General Mladic, who earlier destroyed Vukovar, will be switched to the Sanjak and Kosovo, which Milošević is equally on record with his plan to re-Serbianise by expelling their Muslim majorities. The campaign there has been delayed only by the need to deal with Bosnia first, just as Bosnia had to wait the turn of eastern Croatia. The world will be in a far weaker position to intervene with it than over Bosnia.

Mr Hurd has said in a newspaper article, published as recently as July 1,

that the arms embargo could be raised as "a last resort". What, really, does he mean by that? Perhaps when the last Bosnian capable of using the arms is safely dead, the last mosque levelled to the ground?

Yours sincerely,
ADRIAN HASTINGS,
The University of Leeds,
Department of Theology
and Religious Studies,
Leeds LS2 9JT,
July 5.

From Miss Nora Beloff

Sir, I cannot agree with Professor Lawrence Freedman ("Muslims trapped in misdeeds every day leads to defeat", July 5) that the Serbs "inherited the Yugoslav army and its stocks". The army, which was multi-ethnic, fell apart and most of the stocks of weapons, spare parts, fuel reserves and arms factories fell within the Sarajevo industrial complex. Tito would not place his depots in Serb regions, as he distrusted the Serbs, knowing that they were more likely than other groups to resist his rule.

The part of the Federal army which was of Bosnian-Serb extraction stayed in Bosnia and does indeed have superiority of heavy artillery and tanks. But, as your correspondent from Kiseljak confirms today, the Muslims and Croats, as well as the Serbs, have quite enough weapons to sustain the slaughter.

Professor Freedman also accuses the international negotiators, now at long last going back to the proposal for a tripartite division of Bosnia, of violating their principles. All the signatories to the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, which included Yugoslavia, prohibited any change of frontier except by agreement. Yet neither the government nor the peoples of Yugoslavia were consulted when, by foreign diktat, two million Serbs found themselves committed to living under alien and, in their view, hostile rule. The statelets of Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia have been given full membership of the UN, behind frontiers inherited from Tito's administrative borders, deliberately intended to divide the Serb communities.

Finally, Professor Freedman is unduly pessimistic in claiming that, even if peace can be negotiated on a tripartite basis, the communities will go on fighting among themselves. The

Serbs and Croats have already agreed that the Muslim community must have not just "safe havens", but an economically viable political entity. As Mr John Mills points out in your letters column today, a tripartite division of Bosnia was already on offer at Lisbon in March 1992 and it was the Muslim President Izetbegović who repudiated the deal. Mr Mills might have added that, if Izetbegović had agreed then, this dreadful civil war need never have taken place.

What is needed now is an impartial mediation, based on the proposition that, after what has happened, ethnic divisions of Bosnia are at least temporarily essential and that any deal must allow freedom of movement and that no member of any race or religion must be forcibly incorporated into a foreign state.

Yours sincerely,
NORA BELOFF,
11 Belsize Road, NW6,
July 5.

Policing of the East

From Mr Ashtad Krushelnicky

Sir, I have great respect for Professor Geoffrey Hosking, but his usual clarity of thought seems to have been suspended when he wrote his article arguing that the "West must let Yugoslavia police the East" (July 6). He appears to suggest that as the bullies have won in the former Yugoslavia we might as well side with them in the former Soviet Union, because at least then we will be on the winning side.

Most of the conflicts on the territory of the former Soviet empire either have been engineered by or are being stoked by Russia. But acknowledging its own impotence, the West refrains from criticising Moscow and instead chastises the newly independent republics like Ukraine for having the impudence to stand up to Russia.

Appointing Russia as the policeman of the East may be convenient realpolitik for Western chancelleries but please, forgive Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, the Baltic countries and other former Russian colonies for mistrusting the power that enslaved them and murdered millions of their people.

Yours faithfully,
A. KRUSHELNICKY,
112 Brondesbury Villas, NW6.

Hopes for an EC free of rabies

From Mr Christopher Jackson, MEP for Kent East (European Democrat (Conservative))

Sir, Your report (July 1) a harrowing diary account of the last days of a young Briton in Asia, who, bitten by a rabid dog, had refused vaccination and died. The moral is clear: if, in a rabies-infected area, one is bitten by a suspect animal, an injection should be sought immediately.

However, I find people are not clear about the difference between European fox rabies and the "street" rabies endemic in the dog population in Asia and Africa. Our European rabies is maintained only through the fox population, and a chain of infection has never been set up in domestic dogs and cats.

That is why in France, for example, the disease has not spread to Corsica or to the South of France, despite absolutely free movement of dogs and cats; it spreads only through the fox population.

A bite from a European fox can give the disease to other animals, including humans, but as there is drama involved — a bite — one cannot catch rabies, as one can malaria, for example, without knowing one is at risk. Other animals suffering from European fox rabies only rarely pass the disease on, but precautions should be taken.

A pre-vaccinated dog or cat with adequate antibodies in its blood will not contract rabies even if bitten by a fox. Pre or post-vaccination is now easy and safe, like any other ordinary vaccination, and rabies is not rated as a significant human health risk in Europe.

Finally, the European Community fox rabies eradication programme is going well. Seven out of the 12 EC member states are not rabies-infected, and latest reports from France show that the incidence of rabies in 1993 is, thanks to the EC programme, 80 per cent less than in 1992.

There is real hope that the EC will no longer be rabies-infected by the end of 1995.

Yours faithfully,
CHRISTOPHER JACKSON,
8 Wellmead Drive, Sevenoaks, Kent,
July 2.

SFO leak denial

From Mr Michael Barrett

Sir, I was surprised to read in your report of July 2 on claims surrounding the Asif Nadir case that the Serious Fraud Office has denied being the source of a leak about the Control Securities raid in 1991.

I can assure you that advance information about the raid was leaked from within the SFO, because I was supplied with information about it, together with a quantity of internal documentation on Control Securities and the BCCI investigation generally. I reported the matter to the police. The source of the information, Mark Bralley, and his accomplice Bernard Lynch, have been convicted and given prison sentences (reports, October 1 and 29, 1992).

On reflection, however, I can see that the SFO is making a valid distinction: it was not the SFO who leaked the information, but a dishonest individual, and it is unreasonable to blame the organisation for unsuspecting crooks who are identified and removed.

It might be said that the SFO was slack or accident-prone but, as far as I can tell, all the current allegations and past disclosures occurred when Mrs Barbara Mills was director of the SFO. Mr George Staple, who took over her post, seems to have achieved a considerable transformation and in his era the SFO has been remarkably accident-free.

My experience as defence solicitor for BCCI's treasurer is that the SFO is now meticulous and fair in its treatment of defendants.

Yours faithfully,
MICHAEL BARRETT,
Barretts (solicitors),
107 Gray's Inn Road, WC1,
July 6.

From Mr John K. Roberts

Sir, Is not "Serious Fraud Office" an acronym, apt, and appropriate to these times?

Yours faithfully,
JOHN K. ROBERTS,
The Old Nursery,
Easton, Woodbridge, Suffolk,
July 2.

Rising damp

From Mr David Lowenthal

Sir, Unsavory leaks from the SFO may explain Sir Ivan Lawrence's fear of "pollution of the pure stream of justice" and Sir Nicholas Lyell's plea that "the water should not be muddied". In today's fraud office forgery report. But you too, Sir, seem obsessed.

Matthew Parris ("Lyell pours facts on stormy waters"; Henley report and photograph, page 1); an unsavory pond in High Wycombe (photograph page 5); your leader deploring the Thames as "a conduit conveying dirty water" — why do aqueous themes permeate so much of *The Times*?

Yours sincerely,
DAVID LOWENTHAL,
56 Crown Street,
Harrow on the Hill, Middlesex,
July 1.

Heart of the matter

From Professor A. M. Heagerty

Sir, The Director of the Association of the British Pharmaceutical Industry stated (letter, July 5) that 12 per cent of the UK's adult population require, and are not receiving, medication for raised blood pressure.

Although his estimate that six million people have the disease but do not know it is probably correct, his assertion that they all need drugs is not correct. Many of these subjects will have milder forms of hypertension and will respond to non-drug interventions, which are listed in the treatment guidelines published by the British Hypertension Society. It has been established that prudent weight reduction, an increase in physical activity, reduction in heavy alcohol intake and, in some, reduction in salt intake will cause blood pressure to fall, thereby obviating the need for drugs.

Individuals should be aware that knowing more about their blood pressure is a good thing, because if it is found to be consistently raised it needs intervention. Control of hypertension has been shown to reduce the incidence of stroke by nearly half, and heart disease by nearly 20 per cent. However, drug therapy is but one possible approach.

Yours faithfully,
ANTHONY HEAGERTY,
University Hospital,
South Manchester,
West Didsbury, Manchester 20.

Crozier disclosures

From Mr Brian Crozier

Sir, May I reply to the three critics of my memoirs, whose letters you published on July 5.

Having heard the Philby-Elliott story (repeatedly) from Nicholas Elliott himself and read various accounts, I do not accept Sir Peter Tennant's charge of "gross distortion of the facts" over Elliott's unmasking of the traitor Kim Philby. Assassination of Philby had not occurred to me as a possible outcome of Elliott's visit to Beirut, but was there anything to prevent Elliott from arranging, for a start, a discreet 24-hours-a-day surveillance of Philby?

The failure to take any such measures does suggest that Elliott's employers (and Philby's ex-employers) hoped Philby would flee to Moscow. This could also have been Harold Macmillan's hope. Was it Nicholas Elliott's as well? I know not.

Anthony Cavendish claims that the "secret" party, which he co-founded with the late Desmond Donnelly and others, was Britain's first alternative Opposition. I knew and admired Donnelly and we hunted occasionally at The Travellers. His suicide, and the young Jeffrey Archer's by-election win, left the job undone, so we tried again, many years later, and this further chance was lost.

As for Mr P. H. Cox's dismissive remarks about my ideas and Mrs Thatcher's locked cupboard, he has

Defence cuts

From the Chairman of the Bow Group

Sir, The proposed defence cuts (reports, July 5, 6) are taking the UK's military establishment to the minimum of what is acceptable. Defence spending should be based on a clear assessment of strategic foreign policy and defence needs, not driven by domestic monetary considerations.

It was Treasury short-termism that drove the "Options for Change" review into seeking a "peace dividend" for the Exchequer. The promise then was smaller but better equipped armed forces. Now we see that equipment promise under threat. This has serious consequences for the long-term maintenance of a defence industry base.

The post-Cold War world has not become the safer place we hoped for, but a more unstable, fragmented and

dangerous one. Nor does the deterrent effect of military force by Western nations seem as credible as before.

Against this background, the paper, "Facing the Future", by Julian Brazier, MP, vice-president of the Bow Group defence committee, and 11 other Conservative MPs, is timely. It argues: "Britain needs a strategic review of British interests and their implications for foreign and defence priorities against which considered decisions can be made."

It does not seem, despite the white paper, that we yet have a clear enough policy template by which to set down the armed forces' future shape and role. This omission requires urgent remedy.

Yours faithfully,
DAVID C. BANNERMAN,
Chairman, The Bow Group,
92 Bishop's Bridge Road, W2,
July 6.

Donations and votes

From Mr Ronald Severn

Sir, Mr Nigel Mobbs, writing about political donations (letter, July 2), says shareholders "have the right to vote on the report and accounts at their annual general meeting". Shareholders have no such right. The Companies Acts do not require that the accounts are approved by shareholders, only that the accounts and reports are laid before them in a general meeting.

Once the directors have approved

the balance sheet and reports for signing by a director, the accounts are the company's accounts and there is nothing the shareholders can do about them.

Yours faithfully,
RONALD SEVERN,
(Company secretarial consultant),
1 Emerson Court,
Wimbledon Hill Road, SW19,
July 2.

Business letters, page 27

Unless, of course, someone wanted him to defect to Moscow.

Yours sincerely,
RICHARD BEESTON,
54 Upper Mall, W6,
July 5.

From Mr Marc Gordon

Sir, Mr P. H. Cox shows every symptom of being wise after the event in his criticisms of Brian Crozier. It is very easy for him to say that Mr Crozier's radical agenda proposed to, and implemented by, Mrs Thatcher was "rather commonplace" in the 1970s now that state socialism, and its sister ideology of communism, are well and truly buried.

During the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s to be termed an "anti-communist" was an insult, and rather than serialisation in *The Times* Mr Crozier could usually expect derision in establishment circles. How times have changed.

Indeed, as late as 1986 I hosted a conference at the Barbican Centre in London proposing the modest reform of democracy for Nicaragua. When Mr Crozier, a keynote speaker, arrived outside the venue he was set upon by members of the Royal Shakespeare Company and their supporters, who proceeded to abuse him as "anti-communist scum" and, for good measure, "a rapist".

Yours faithfully,
MARC GORDON,
3 Granby Lane,
Plumpton, Leicestershire.

Sports letters, page 39

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Head for a holiday on home ground

The lack of travel bargains abroad, and the hot spell at home, may tempt more people to stay in Britain, writes Harvey Elliott

Two weeks of hot, sunny weather — especially in the South East — have emptied the high street travel agencies of customers seeking foreign holidays and raised the hopes of British hotels and seaside resorts that families will decide to remain at home this summer.

With millions still to decide where to go and the school holidays already starting, the first indications of last-minute bargains on foreign packages are beginning to appear in travel agency windows.

There are, however, far fewer than last year, or the year before, when the recession wreaked havoc with tour operators' plans, forcing them to slash prices just to get rid of the vast number of holidays they had to sell.

Prices for package holidays abroad this summer are between 10 and 15 per cent higher than last year and, despite the slowdown in recent weeks, are selling sufficiently well to encourage tour operators to believe that they will make healthy profits.

Andrew Jones, marketing manager for Pickford Travel, says: "Customers hoping for a holiday

bargain in July or August are having to be extremely flexible — they may have to accept an alternative airport and be available for departure almost immediately."

Sales until the end of May this year were about 6 per cent up on the same period last year and, although this has now fallen back during the good weather, operators are confident it will return again once the weather breaks. They believe that about 8 per cent more people will go away this year than last.

"Capacity is now more in line with demand," says Charles Newbold, managing director of Thomson Holidays, the market leader. "We must be the only group of people who are gloomy when the sun shines and pleased when it rains because more people then come in to book our holidays."

"Although we have had glorious weather in the South East, however, it has not been as good in the north, and Manchester is now our biggest departure airport."

Any discounting is, therefore, likely to be precisely targeted at those destinations which have not performed so well — and those parts of this country where sales have been sluggish.

Spain is attracting more British tourists than ever this year with bookings up 17 per cent on last year and accounting for 37 per cent of all sales. America is holding its own — despite reports of attacks on British tourists — and although Greece and Turkey are both selling well, Cyprus is 30 per cent down on last year when there was a record growth in visits to the island.

Self-catering holidays are within a whisker of overtaking beach hotels in popularity for package



Beach party: taking it easy in more familiar surroundings may be popular this summer — if the July hot weather holds

holidays, according to industry figures up to the end of May. Self-catering now accounts for 35.4 per cent of all sales compared with 35.7 per cent for beach hotels.

Figures produced by the government last week showed that more Britons travelled abroad last year than ever before, with 33.6 million trips recorded at ports and airports — 10 per cent up on the previous year. Of that total, 12.6 million were by package holidaymakers, an 18 per cent increase on the 1991 figure of 10.6 million. Business travel was

up by 7 per cent to reach 5.1 million trips, while those to visit friends and relations went up by 3.5 per cent to four million. Holidays overall increased to 23 million, 12 per cent up on 1991.

Europe was the world's most popular destination, retaining a 40 per cent share of the foreign travel market, and France the most frequently visited country. France had almost 7.9 million visits from British residents — up 6.6 per cent. In second place was Spain with 5.6 million visits, a rise of 16 per cent. North America was up 19 per cent to 2.7 million and Cyprus increased

its British visitors by an astonishing 72 per cent last year.

There seems no end to the demand for travel. Over the next 12 years travel and tourism within Europe is expected to grow by 59 per cent although prices could rise, according to a new report by the Economist Intelligence Unit. Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain will see the biggest upsurge in tourism as people from Eastern Europe book trips abroad and invest in second homes and time-share accommodation in other countries.

The study on the impact of a

single European market says that the travel and tourism industry will gain from a number of economic and policy developments, which include the growth of incomes, ability to take more leisure time and lower barriers for international travel, rather than because of specific actions by the travel industry.

According to the report, one of the boom areas will be holidays taken by pensioners. Retired people aged between 55 and 70 are generally becoming "wealthier, healthier, and more adventurous", the report says.

Ms British Tourism takes up her post

The UK industry is fighting back, says the new chief

Memories of childhood holidays in austere postwar guest houses with basic accommodation, no en-suite bathrooms and tired furniture still deter Britons from taking a break in their own country, according to the British Tourist Authority's new chairman.

Adele Biss, who on her appointment on June 1, was also made chairman of the English Tourist Board, has officially spent only 12 days in her new job — the joint chairmanship is a two-day-a-week post paying about £35,000.

She accepts that in the 1950s much of the UK's holiday facilities were "primitive" and that recollections of those years still colour the attitude of many British families. She says: "People are of a higher standard and caravan parks of a better quality. The more that people take a break here, the more the industry will be able to invest. Gone are the days of dressing-down hotels, when that item of clothing was essential for those



Experienced: Adele Biss

walks down draughty corridors to the bathroom."

Ms Biss starts her job in the aftermath of a bitter row between William Davis, the previous BTA/ETB chairman, and the government, about alleged Whitehall apathy and problems with funding.

She began her career marketing footpaths. Then, in the 1970s, she worked at Thomson Holidays, selling the cheap package holidays that lured Britons away from domestic travel. In 1978 she helped to set up Biss Lancaster, a public relations company that was later sold. Ms Biss is now a non-executive director of the British Railways Board.

The ETB will need a strong case over the next 12 months to fend off a planned cut in Whitehall tourism funding, from £13.6 million to £9 million.

Ms Biss says: "Tourism is essential to our economy — it generates jobs and brings in foreign currency. The private sector should contribute to investment, and I aim to lay that evidence before the government." She admits that the industry is still "very fragmented" and wants the BTA, which is responsible mainly for bringing foreign tourists to Britain, to continue its emphasis on heritage and literature. The English Tourist Board, with its tourist information offices in many towns, should act as a focal point for domestic tourism.

MARIANNE CURPHEY

Unspoilt parts of the Gulf of Mexico are cashing in on the area's popularity

Florida spreads its net

The concrete mixers move in next week. The holidaymakers will move in next season. The runway at Florida's Fort Myers airport is being extended as part of the operation to open up new areas of the Gulf of Mexico by allowing jumbos to fly in direct from Europe, cutting out Miami. Already UK carriers are showing keen interest.

Brian Booker, general manager of United America says: "I think it is the next area of Florida which is going to get big numbers. It is very beautiful, it seems to be very safe and we have seen quite a steady move towards resorts which could be served from Fort Myers. Our November brochure will be featuring the area much more prominently. The airport extension gives us more options for the future."

One spot determined to steer Florida holidays away from all that is Florida, naïf and sometimes dangerous is Marco Island in the Gulf of Mexico, a place that likes to call itself "the last paradise". Although the word paradise oozes from Florida holiday-type like relish from a McDonald's, the island does have a good tale to tell.

Marco is a 45-minute drive from Fort Myers and concrete mixers have been banned from the island since a man called Yokell helped win the mother of all conservation battles in the early 1980s. There are



Paradise? That's what the brochures call the angling at Marco

now only three beach hotels there and there will never be any more. Marco is now a pleasantly peaceful spot with enough development to cater for a manageable tourist trade, but not enough to destroy the wildlife that has been there longer than the Seminole Indians.

Derrick Barnett, general manager of the Radisson Beach Resort hotel, says: "Marco island is off limits to developers because our beaches and wetlands are very sensitive. The birds, the fish, the dolphins and the turtles must be allowed their natural environment."

"When the turtles are nesting, for example, we turn off all the beach lights because after hatching the turtles are drawn towards the light. The natural light they must follow is the moon, which will lead them to the sea. If they are confused with lots of inland lights they will go the wrong way and just die."

The Radisson has 269 apartments (with kitchens) capable of sleeping six to eight people. All-in rates start from \$89 (£60) a night. The island's two other hotels are the Hilton (290 rooms) and the Marriott (700 rooms).



Atlantic Ocean

"We call Marco the last paradise because it is still unspoiled," Mr Barnett says. "You can see all the natural vegetation... the mangroves, the sea oaks, the sea grapes and all the natural grasses. We also have bird sanctuaries with eagles, ospreys, herons, pelicans, spoonbills, storks and egrets."

And there is the fishing. You can fish the everglades for days without seeing another soul. Because what do they call Florida? An angler's paradise. Naturally.

JACK CROSSLEY

Invasion of tall ships

MORE than 100 sailing ships will gather in Newcastle upon Tyne next week for the Carty Sack tall ships race. The fully rigged ships will be moored along the Quayside, filling two miles of the city's historic waterfront. The city is organising a maritime festival which culminates on Saturday, July 17, when the ships leave Quayside for Bergen, where the race starts.

Rainbow Holidays (0904 643355) is promoting a package featuring hotels offering prices from £32 bed and breakfast per night.

Plastic holiday

A SURVEY by Barclaycard shows that 88 per cent of its cardholders used their cards to obtain credit on holiday last year. Some 75 per cent also took foreign currency, 66 per cent also took foreign cheques and 14 per cent Eurocheques.

French connection

A ONE-STOP travel centre — Maison de la Grande-Bretagne — opens next week in the heart of Paris. The centre, to be run by the British Tourist Authority, aims to tap the booming French market that generated the second highest number of visitors to Britain last year with 2.5 million French tourists spending £420 million.

Concorde seats — in your home

SEVEN hundred Concorde passenger seats, which have flown nine million trans-Atlantic miles, on board the supersonic aircraft, have been used by some of the world's richest people, are to be sold off for charity, Marianne Curphey writes.

The initial batch, taken out of the first Concorde to be refitted for £1 million by British Airways, is now on offer to the general public. Potential buyers must write to BA with their bid. BA is limiting the sale to five pairs of seats per person or company.

The first refurbished Concorde has new seats with back supports, more leg-room and larger overhead bins for luggage. Each aircraft carries 50 pairs of seats and a BA spokesman said the final set of seats would not be available until next spring. He said: "We anticipate a flood of enquiries from fans of Concorde and aircraft enthusiasts. A buyer would need to build a special platform if he wanted to use them as armchairs, because they were originally designed to be screwed into the floor."

The proceeds from the auction will go to Operation Happy Child, a BA-run charity designed to take underprivileged and disabled children who live near Heathrow on holiday.

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France will not allow its own citizens to operate a jet-ski without a licence, but foreigners can. Last week, another two of them died, and sparked a furore

Tackling a death wave

The deaths of Alexander Milovic and Pia Dechent in a horrific accident off St Tropez last week highlighted the controversy surrounding new French laws designed to improve safety at sea.

Onerous new regulations requiring anyone, irrespective of nationality, to hold new sea "driving licences" as proof of competence at the helm of motor-powered boats should have come into force six months ago. However, in view of the difficulties posed for certain foreigners — notably Britons — the French parliament has granted foreigners a reprieve until January 1994.

The new laws are being applied stringently to the French, who must have either a *carte mer*, permitting control of craft up to 2 tonnes, powered by engines between 60p and 50hp, within five

nautical miles of a harbour in daytime, or a *permis mer* for anything more adventurous. Yachts are exempt, as are boats with engines of less than 60p.

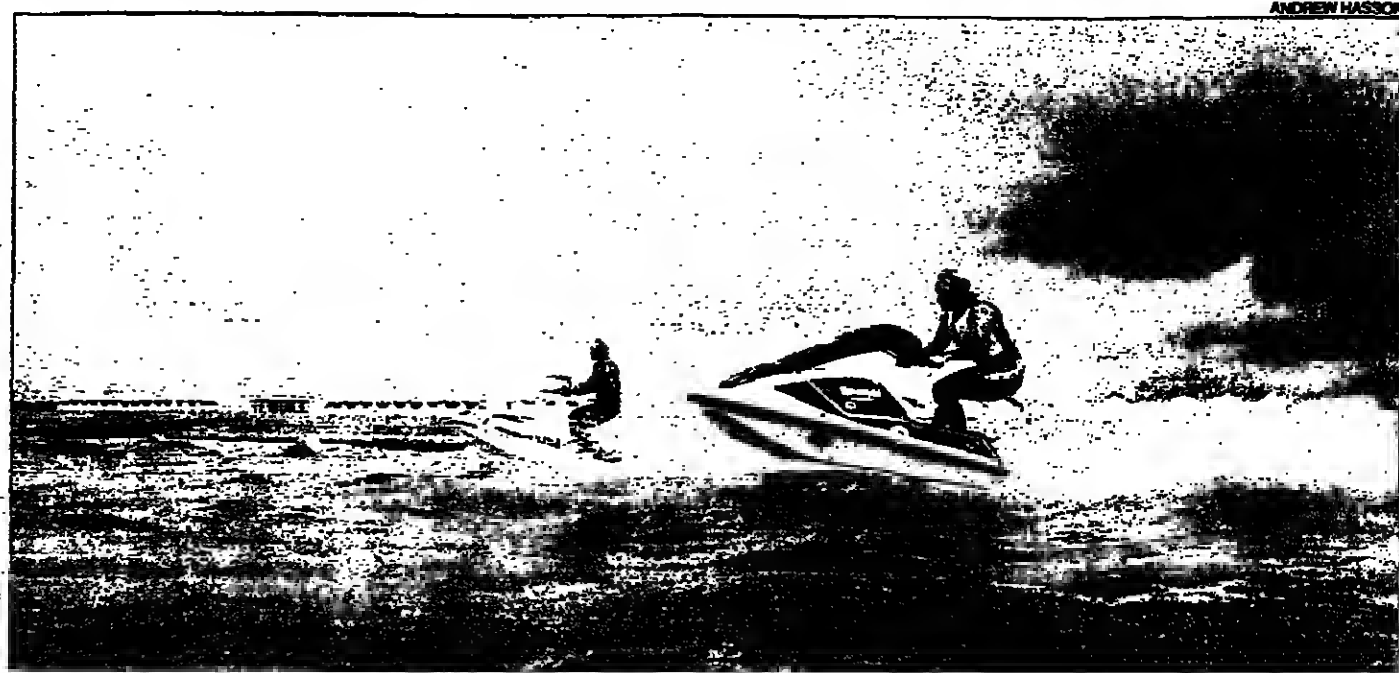
Last week's accident serves to underline the anomalies of the situation. Mr Milovic, 31, merely showed his British passport to the agency renting 50hp jet-skis capable of 30 knots, and was killed instantly when he ploughed into the side of a speedboat. Ms Dechent, 33, his German pillion passenger, died two days later.

The French are furious that for years foreigners have been able to escape any form of nautical control while they have been subject to a sea driving test. It was domestic pressure as much as the desire to highlight the need for a single EC regulation covering all member states that inspired the new rules.

When they come into full effect visitors from countries such as Germany, Italy, Spain and Greece will have no problem in conforming. Their governments issue maritime documents similar to the French ones. But boating enthusiasts from Britain have been left in a quandary. The likeliest solution appears to be for them to take lessons from qualified French sailing schools and apply for a certificate of competence.

Another aspect of the St Tropez deaths has been to illustrate the dangers of jet-skis themselves. At least ten Riviera resorts have banned them completely, while their use is strictly limited elsewhere. Official records show that over the past ten years an average of 75 people are killed each year in swimming, diving or boating accidents on the Côte d'Azur alone.

TONY ROCCA



Fun in the sun: but from next January everybody using a jet-ski in French waters will have to possess a sea-driving licence

Free drive for golfers

GOLF fans who cannot find accommodation near to the Royal St George's course at Sandwich, Kent, for next week's Open Championship are offered half-board accommodation at the Swallow Hotel in Beesley Heath (081-298 1000) for £63 plus a £10 petrol voucher each day to cover the 55 miles to the course. The hotel, which is reducing prices by 10 per cent for a second night and 15 per cent for a third, says that the motorway journey should not take an more than an hour.

MONARCH Airlines (0582 398333) has a super-saver fare to Tenerife from Luton airport available this month and next for £159 return. Flights leave on Tuesdays and Fridays with a minimum stay of one night and a maximum of 14 nights.

COACH operator Euro-lines (071-730 0202) is offering day trips to Calais and Boulogne for £19.50. Daily departures are from London Victoria, Gillingham and Canterbury with one-hour Channel crossings by Hoverspeed SeaCat from Folkestone to Boulogne and hovercraft to Calais.

ANYONE who can make their own accommodation arrangements and stay for 14 nights can fly to Malta on July 17 with Belair Holiday (081-785 3266) for £99 return.

MAGIC of the Orient (0293 537700) offers holidays to two of the less-developed Philippine islands, Boracay and Bohol, which both offer accommodation in cottage-style beach hotels. Prices start at £796 per person for an eight-night stay inclusive of return flights from Gatwick.

Travellers face leap in insurance premiums

The cost of peace of mind on holiday is set to rise. Harvey Elliott and Marianne Curphey report

HOLIDAYMAKERS face an increase of at least 20 per cent in their travel insurance premiums by the end of this year.

An increase in the number and value of claims — many of them believed to be fraudulent — together with the rocketing cost of commissions paid to tour operators and travel agents for selling their policies, has forced many of Britain's biggest insurance companies to act.

Ian Rushton, the chairman of the Association of British Insurers (ABI), has warned: "Significant increases have already been introduced and their full effect will come to companies over the next few months. Further rate increases are likely, but opinions differ from insurer to insurer as to their size."

The Travellers Insurance Association, part of Commercial Union, predicts that excess charges will rise — "It is a bit early to tell by how much" — adding that some travel agents had already raised premiums by between 10 and 15 per cent this year.

Derek Fisher, the managing director of Claims International,

an independent loss adjuster and claims management company, believes that by next summer all premiums will have risen by at least one-fifth. "Losses have escalated because until now premiums have been far too cheap," he said. "There are more claims per passenger carried, and because people are travelling further, the cost of medical treatment and repatriation has gone up."

However, a spokesman for Norwich Union said: "Our policies are not going to go up between now and the end of the year. In 1993, premiums increased by 20 per cent for people who did not require baggage cover. For those who did, the premium increased by 50 per cent, which indicates where a lot of our claims are concentrated. In 1994, premiums will not jump as high, but they will not be going down."

Several small insurance companies have gone out of business because of spiralling losses, while others have begun raising premiums sharply. At the same time, some smaller travel agencies and tour operators now regard the income from their commissions as the basis of their profits because they make so little margin on the holiday itself.

The biggest travel agency chain, Lunn Poly, makes no apologies for its comparatively high premiums — cover for 17 days in Europe, for instance, would cost £25.80. Richard Bowden-Doyle, Lunn Poly's marketing director, says: "You have to balance the cost of insurance against the quality of the cover you get. We believe we provide first-class cover rather than a low cost of cover."

Although most summer holidaymakers will avoid the biggest increases, those booking winter holidays are likely to be asked to pay more. Medical claims alone have gone up in value by about 20 per cent over the last two years.

The increases in premiums have led to a growing unease about the methods used by some tour operators and travel agents to persuade customers to take out insurance linked to a particular holiday. Each time the agency sells an insurance policy on the strength of a holiday booking, it receives commission.

Consumer bodies maintain that many travel companies are selling over-priced and inadequate holiday cover. The Consumers' Association criticises those travel agents who offer discount holidays in the hope of selling insurance as part of the total package. The Office of Fair Trading, which has issued its own guidelines, has come across several instances of travel agents telling customers that new EC regulations require holidaymakers to take insurance, although new rules actually state that holidaymakers do not have to take the insurance offered when booking.



Premium jump: greater risks have made insurers reconsider the cost of travel policies

ABI defends the practice of taking commission. But it has warned travellers to check carefully the exclusion section of the policy — some offer much less than the recommended minimum cover.

The Consumers' Association recommends that holidaymakers take policies that offer the following minimum coverage: medical expenses of £250,000 in Europe, £1 million worldwide; £1 million personal liability for Europe, £2 million worldwide; full cancellation cost; £1,000 baggage and possessions; £250 cash. For instance, an individual's annual travel policy through Thomas Cook, providing greater than the recommended cover, would be £115.

The Office of Fair Trading said: "Insurance can represent a significant proportion of the total price of a holiday, so customers who want insurance should shop around."

Gambia Boeings grounded

British tourists were stranded in the Gambia for four days last week after the Department of Transport banned Air Gambia from flying into Britain, writes Harvey Elliott. The tourists — travelling with Kuoni and Hayes and Jarvis — had flown earlier to Banjul, the Gambian capital, on board an Air Gam-

bia Boeing 707, but during their holiday transport department officials, acting on advice from the Civil Aviation Authority, withdrew the airline's licence because of fears concerning aircraft maintenance and safety procedures.

Air Gambia — a privately owned company with three 707s in its fleet — spent the

weekend trying to find a replacement aircraft and eventually chartered an Airbus A320 from Executive Airways to bring the tourists home. This week it used a Russian built IL62 jet on the route.

For three years, Air Gambia operated the only direct scheduled service between London and Gambia. Then, last month, the rival state-owned Gambia Airways, in which British Airways has a 40 per cent stake, also began operations with an aircraft leased from Ethiopia.

The decision came as a surprise to us, says an Air Gambia official. "As far as I know there had never been any problems in the past." Matthew Yaya Baldeh, the Gambian public works minister, met Lord Calhoun, the transport minister, yesterday to discuss the ban, and today officials from both aviation authorities will meet.

Hotel attack victims to sue

An attorney is taking up the cudgel on behalf of Britons mugged by thugs

An American lawyer arrived in Britain last week to gather evidence for a multi-million pound law suit he plans to file against a Florida hotel in whose car park a British tourist was shot dead, Harvey Elliott writes.

Keith Thompson, 42, a post-al worker from Chelmsford, Essex, had just checked into the Comfort Inn in Orlando with his fiancée and two friends when he was shot as he tried to prevent muggers from stealing his wallet.

Now Michael Swindle, an attorney who specialises in cases involving British visitors to Florida, plans action against the hotel for failing to provide adequate security or to issue proper warnings. He says: "It has been open season on British tourists and I want to see that that comes to an end and that they and their relatives receive compensation."

He has been asked to represent Anne Sole, Mr Thompson's fiancée and two other robbery victims. "My purpose is to help these people obtain substantial monetary compensation for their loss suffered as a result of negligence and failure to provide adequate security on the part of Florida tourist establishments," he says. "We also want to re-establish central Florida as the safe tourist haven it once was."

Mr Swindle claims that many other British tourists who have been robbed or assaulted while on holiday in Florida could have claims against their hotels or holiday villas if they can show that security was lax.

Like many civil lawyers in America, Mr Swindle will be operating on a "no win — no fee" basis, taking between 30 and 40 per cent of the final settlement. "Although there has been some criticism of the system, I believe it provides the poor man the keys to the court house," he says. Mr Thompson's father, Alan, confirmed that Mr Swindle would be taking up the case in America. Ms Sole would not comment.

The giant airlines in the United States, American and United, are locked in a vicious battle for the business traveller, flooding the market with incentives, Joanna Walters writes.

The scramble to fill the business and first-class cabins has led to a proliferation of upgrade certificates being distributed through business travel agents. These enable regular passengers whose companies have bought economy-class tickets to fly business-class, while business-class passengers can fly first class. United denies that it is doing anything more than normal to attract premium passengers.

Business travel agents say that mass discounting and free upgrades will bring only short-term gains. Tony Hughes, the managing director of P & O Travel, says that the future of first-class travel across the north Atlantic will be in doubt if airlines continue to fill the front of their aircraft with their own executives and upgraded passengers.

Joanna Walters writes for Travel Trade Gazette.

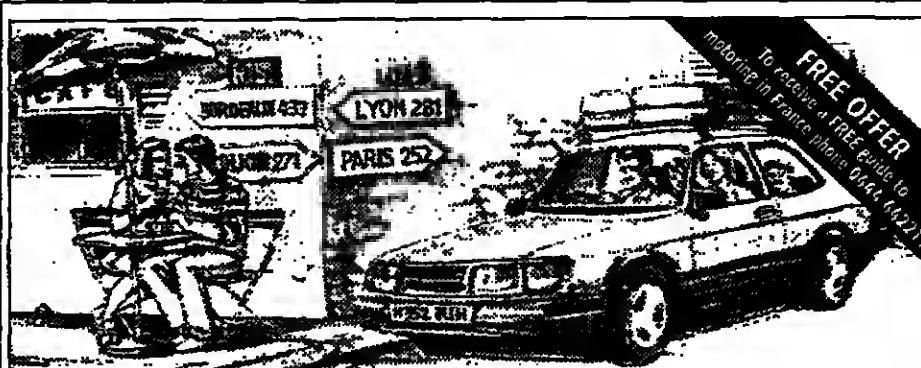
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